

HISTORY

OF His GRACE the ^{2nd}

Duke of ORMOND,

*Jas. Butler*CONTAINING, 09.9.77⁵A great Number of LETTERS, ORDERS,
and INSTRUCTIONS to his GRACE,

FROM THE

Secretary HENRY ST. JOHN, Esq;

AFTERWARDS

Ld Visc. BOLINGBROKE.

TOGETHER,

With his GRACE's Answers to many of those Letters.

WITH THE

Earl of OXFORD's Letter of Approbation
of his GRACE's Conduct.

L O N D O N:Printed for M. COOPER, in *Patex-noster-row*, and
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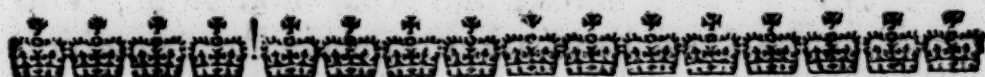
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A SHORT

HISTORY

DECEMBER

1907:90



[1]

T H E
C O N D U C T
O F T H E
Duke of O R M O N D E.

THE Duke of *Ormonde* being appointed to command Her Majesty's Forces in *Flanders*, received Instructions for that Service of the following Tenor.

A N N E R.

*Instructions for our Right Trusty and Right
entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, James
Duke of Ormonde, Captain General, and
Commander in Chief of our Forces, acting
in Conjunction with those of our Allies in the
Low Countries.*

YOU are with all possible Diligence to repair to the *Hague*, and to acquaint the Pensionary, that, having appointed You to Command Our Army in the *Netherlands*, We have given You Orders to see him, before You go to put Yourself at the Head of the Troops. You are to express to him the Resolution We are in of pushing the War with all possible Vigour, until the Enemy shall agree to such Terms of Peace, as may be safe and honourable for Us, and for Our Allies.

You are farther to say to this Minister, that You are prepared to live in a perfect and good Correspondence
B with

with all the Generals of the Allies, and particularly with those of the States; and that You hope, You shall find the same Inclination on their Part, to which his (the Pensionary's) good Offices will extremely contribute.

You are, after this Introduction, to desire the Pensionary to inform You, what Plan has been agreed upon for the Operations of the Campaign.

As soon as You arrive at the Frontier, You are to meet with the Prince *Eugene*, and such others of the Generals, as shall be in the Secret, and with them to concert the proper Measures for entering on Action.

You are to take the first, and every Opportunity, of reviewing all such Regiments, as are paid, either in the Whole, or in Part, by Us, and to certify to Us the Numbers, and Condition of the several Regiments of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons.

You are likewise, from Time to Time, to *Correspond* with One of Our Principal Secretaries of State, and to *transmit* constant Accounts of Your Proceedings, and of all Occurrences which may happen.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, the Seventh Day of April, 1712. In the Eleventh Year of Our Reign.

A. R.

These being the only Directions then given him for regulating his Conduct, the Duke left *London*, *April* the 9th, under a full Resolution of pushing on the War with all possible Vigour; and arriv'd at the *Hague*, *April* 23, N. S. where he made a Visit to the Pensionary, and discours'd with him in the Manner, his Instructions requir'd. When the Duke desir'd to know, *What Plan had been agreed upon for the Operations of the Campaign*: The Pensionary answered, *That there was no particular Project form'd, but that the Measures for opening the Campaign were left to be adjusted by their Generals and Deputies, who could best judge what was fit to be done, when they were in the Field*; and this was all that Minister would say on this Head.

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On the 28th the Duke had a Conference with the Deputies of the States, in order to be inform'd of their Resolutions taken with Prince *Eugene*, who, some Days before the Duke's Arrival, had left the *Hague*, and was gone to *Tournay*. They shew'd themselves extremely well satisfy'd with the Declarations made from the Queen by the Duke, and desirous that he would take the first Opportunity of putting himself at the Head of the Army; but referr'd him, as the Pensionary had done, to their Field-Deputies and Generals, who, they said, were intrusted with the Conduct of the War, and should be order'd to concert every Thing with his Grace, in like manner as they had before been directed to take their Measures in Concert with the Prince for the Good of the Common Cause. The President of the Week made many Excuses for their having given the Command of their Army to that Prince; but however, he said, *As to the Point of Command, his Grace and the Prince were now on an equal Foot.*

About this time the Duke receiv'd a Letter from Mr. *Cadogan*, who had been left out of the Establishment of *Lieutenant-Generals*, desiring with great Earnestness his Grace's Interest for his being employ'd under him this Campaign: The Duke, being very willing that so experienced an Officer should be near him, and by that means a Witness to all his Actions, readily comply'd with his Request, and soon obtain'd the Queen's Leave for his serving in that Post.

The Duke, resolving to take the Field as soon as possible, left the *Hague* on *April* 30, and arrived at *Ghent* *May* 3: And, after a Stay there of two or three Days, and securing the Government of the Citadel in *English* Hands, went on to *Tournay*, where he met Prince *Eugene*, and the Deputies of the States. All the *English* Forces, for some Weeks, had been in the Field, and lay canton'd along the Road between this City and *Lisle*. And the Reason of drawing them out of their Quarters so soon, was, That there had been a Project formed to take Post at *Oisy*, on the *Sensette*, which would have secured the March over the *Scheldæ*, and might have given the Allies an Opportunity of besieging *Cambrai*: Mr. *Cadogan* did not, in the least, question the Success of it; But the *Dutch* making many Difficulties and Delays in this Affair, the *Mareschal Villars* had prevented the Design, and taken Possession of *Oisy*, and of all the Passes on the *Sensette*.

Upon a Review of the *English* Forces, it was universally acknowledged, That, as those Troops had taken the Field earlier this Year than in any other Campaign, so they had never been better Cloathed, or better Recruited. The *Dutch* Forces, actually in the Field, were deficient in both these Particulars; and the greatest Number of the *Imperialists* were not yet arrived, nor did they arrive till some time after; so that, after all the Reports in-

dustriously spread, both in *England* and *Holland*, concerning the early Preparations of the Allies, the Duke found, that the Troops then in the best Condition to act, were the *English*.

He us'd all the Sollicitations possible, and with great Earnestness press'd the Prince and the other Generals to leave *Tournay*, and open the Campaign; but he found them, particularly the Prince, very irresolute; sometimes desirous to enter into Action, and sometimes willing to expect, for a few Days, the Issue of the Negotiations then on foot. With this View, or perhaps with a Design the better to excuse the Backwardness of their own Troops, they deferred going into the Field for near a Fortnight. However, Prince *Eugene* and Monsieur *Vogelin* came to his Grace on the 17th, and it was then agreed between them to pass the *Schelde* near *Bouchain*, in order to encamp at *Avesne le Secque*; and see whether the Confederates could attack the Enemy without great Disadvantage; or, should the Enemy be too strongly posted, it was propos'd to invest *Quesnoy*, which being a little Place, could not hold out above three Weeks at most, after opening of the Trenches. In order to these Motions, the Proportion of the two Armies to be commanded by the Prince and the Duke, was fully adjusted; the Duke had under him the following Troops, consisting of those in the Queen's Pay, and of those paid jointly by her Majesty and the States, together with a Regiment of *Hussars*.

			Batt.	Squad.
<i>English</i>	_____	_____	22	19
<i>Danes</i>	_____	_____	9	21
<i>Prussians</i>	_____	_____	10	36
<i>Saxons</i>	_____	_____	7	12
<i>Hanoverians</i>	_____	_____	14	29
<i>Holstein</i>	_____	_____	2	8
<i>Wolfenbuttle</i>	_____	_____	2	—
<i>Wallons</i>	_____	_____	—	4
<i>Auspach</i>	_____	_____	2	4
<i>Nassau Dillenburg</i>	_____	_____	1	—
<i>Oettingen</i>	_____	_____	1	—
<i>Hussars</i>	_____	_____	—	5
Total			70	138

The Command being thus settled, the necessary Directions were given for assembling all the Troops passing the *Scarpe*, and forming the two Armies on the 21st, between *Doway* and *Marchiennes*; where the Prince and the Duke designed to join their respective Forces, and there concert such further Measures, as might be requisite for carrying on the Service of the Campaign.

The

The Duke had some Days before received two Expresses from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, who, in his Letter of *April 16*, tells his Grace, ' That he found, by very certain Intelligences from *Holland*, that the *Dutch* Ministers were not without their Fears of their new General ; That they began to consider he was a Papist, and a *German*, at least in Interest ; That the Emperor, his Master, had nothing to lose on the Side of the *Netherlands* ; That a Battle won, might give ground for insisting on higher Terms than the House of *Austria* was now likely to obtain ; That a Battle lost, might still contribute to prolong the War ; and that, in either Case, the Expence of Blood would fall to the Share of the Queen and the States : That he was of Opinion, that these Reflections had occasioned private Directions to their Generals to use more Caution than the Prince would perhaps approve ; and that his Grace might see, that this Measure was not very consistent with the Compliment of an unlimited Command, made to that Prince by Mr. *Lathmer*, in the Name of the States.'

In his Letter of *April* the 25th, the Secretary acquaints the Duke, ' That the Queen was desirous to know particularly, on what Foot the *Dutch* had settled the Command ; That Her Majesty inclined to be of Opinion, that all the Troops, whether Subjects, or Foreigners, belonging to Her, should be under his Grace's Command : There might have been formerly Reasons for using a different Method, but there seem'd to be at present, some of a very strong Nature for taking this, and perhaps these might every Day grow stronger ; That there could be no need for him to enter into the Grounds which they had, in this Conjuncture, to be jealous of Prince *Eugene's* Conduct ; his Grace would see and know them all better, than they could be repeated ; but that on this Occasion the Queen directed him to inform his Grace, That She thought, he was to be the more Cautious for some Time of engaging in any Action, unless in the Case of a very apparent and considerable Advantage, because he would be daily strengthen'd by the Arrival of the Imperial Troops ; and 'twas but just, these should have their Part, if any thing of that kind was to happen : That the great Article of preventing the Union of the Two Monarchies was not yet entirely settled ; the Expedients were hard of Digestion to the *French* Stomachs ; but if this was got over, he did not see any formidable Difficulty in the way.'

The Duke returned an Answer to these Dispatches, much to the same Effect as what he wrote on the 9th of *May* ; wherein he gave an Account what the *Dutch* had done, in regard to the Point of Command : ' That he was entirely of the Secretary's Opinion, that a Battle, either lost, or won, would, at this Time, make very
' great

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‘ great Alterations in the Treaties now on Foot : But the Secretary
 ‘ might remember, that in his Instructions he was order’d to act in
 ‘ Conjunction with the Allies, in prosecuting the War with Vigour;
 ‘ so that, should there happen a fair Opportunity to attack the
 ‘ Enemy, he could not decline it, if propos’d by the Prince and the
 ‘ States; but he hoped to hear from him by a Messenger, before
 ‘ the Armies were form’d, which would be on the 21st.’ The
 Duke added, in a second Letter of *May* the 20th, ‘ That, if there
 ‘ were a good Opportunity to attack the Enemy and get into
 ‘ *France*, by the Way of *Champagne*, he was sure the Prince and
 ‘ the States would press it, unless they heard from *England*, that
 ‘ the Peace was near being concluded : That he wished it very
 ‘ heartily; but, if it were delayed, he hoped he should have
 ‘ the good Fortune to force the *French* to comply with the Queen’s
 ‘ Demands.’

The Armies having marched on the Day appointed, his Grace took his Quarters at *Marchiennes*; where, in concert with the Prince, and the Foreign Generals, he resolv’d to go on nearer to the Enemy; and ’twas accordingly agreed, that the two Armies should march on the 26th, pass the *Schelde*, and encamp, the Right of Prince *Eugene*’s Army at *Neufville*, and the Left of the Duke of *Ormona*’s at *Solemes*, where we had the River *Selle* in our Rear. And, in order to preserve a Communication with the Places on the *Scarpe*, the Troops were employed for some Days, in repairing the old *French* Lines between *Denain* and *Walers*, and drawing another Parallel to them from our Bridges on the *Schelde* to *Beaurepair*; in both which a sufficient Body of Troops was to be left, to secure the Convoys of Provisions, as well from the Enemies Garrisons of *Valenciennes* and *Condé*, as from their Army.

On the 24th in the Evening an Express came from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, with a Letter, dated *May* the 10th, to acquaint the Duke, ‘ That, since Her Majesty had Reason to believe, that
 ‘ She should come to an Agreement upon the great Article of
 ‘ preventing the Union of the Two Monarchies, as soon as a
 ‘ Courier sent from *Versailles* to *Madrid* could return, ’twas Her
 ‘ Majesty’s positive Command, that he should avoid engaging in any
 ‘ Siege, or hazarding a Battle, till he received further Orders from
 ‘ *England*. The Secretary acquainted his Grace likewise, That
 ‘ the Queen would have him disguise the Receipt of this Order,
 ‘ and that Her Majesty thought, he could not want Pretences for
 ‘ conducting himself so as to answer Her Ends, without owning
 ‘ that, which might at present have an ill Effect, if ’twas publicly
 ‘ known. That She could not think with Patience of sacrificing
 ‘ Men, when there was a fair Prospect of obtaining Her Purpose
 ‘ another Way; nor would She suffer Herself to be expos’d to the
 ‘ Reproach

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‘ Reproach of having retarded, by the Events of the Campaign, 1
 ‘ Negotiation, which might have been as good as concluded in 2
 ‘ few Days. He adds, that this Order was communicated at the
 ‘ same Time to the Court of *France*; so that, if the Marechal de
 ‘ *Villars* should take any private Notice of it, the Duke was to
 ‘ answer accordingly.’

Though the March had been fixed before the 26th, the Duke would have made use of some Pretence to delay it, had it been possible to have found Forage, near enough to the present Camp, for the Subsistence of the Troops; but this being utterly impracticable, he was obliged to put the March in Execution, as it had been agreed on. At *Solemes*, the Troops, which compos’d the Corps commanded by General *Faget*, joined the Armies to which they belonged, and took their Post in the Lines: At the same time, a Body of Troops consisting of thirty Squadrons of Horse, and thirteen Battalions of Foot, under the Command of the Lord *Albemarle*, encamped at *Denain*, on the other Side of the *Schelde*; out of which his Lordship was to furnish such a Number of Men, as might be necessary to guard the Lines drawn from that Place to the *Scarpe*, and secure the Provisions from *Marchiennes* to the Camp.

The Duke, as he was resolved to pay a punctual Obedience to the Queen’s Commands, used all Endeavours to prevent a Suspicion, that he had received the Orders abovementioned, though he was very apprehensive of the great Difficulty he lay under, in the present Situation of Affairs: And what made the Difficulty still greater was, that Prince *Eugene* and the States Deputies press’d now very vehemently for a Siege, if the engaging the Enemy was found improper. So that the Circumstances his Grace was in, made it almost impossible for him to disguise the true Reason of his declining all Proposals, which should be made for entering upon some Action; and there was scarce any Excuse left him for Delay; since all the Troops which were expected, and the heavy Cannon would join the Army in two or three Days.

The Night before the Duke left *Marchiennes*, he received a Letter from Marechal *Villars*, in which the Marechal says, ‘ He
 ‘ has Orders from his Master, with the Consent of the Queen, to
 ‘ acquaint him, That they were no longer Enemies; and that it
 ‘ was the King’s particular Injunction to Him [the Marechal] to
 ‘ keep this Matter with an inviolable Secrecy.

The Duke, according to the Intimation given him by Mr. Secretary *St. John*, answer’d, ‘ That he had received Orders on
 ‘ that Subject from the Queen, and should be sure to conform
 ‘ himself punctually to them; but the Secret injoyn’d, would
 ‘ very much depend on the Measures the Marechal himself should
 ‘ take. The Duke on his Part let him know, That the March he
 ‘ should

‘ should be obliged to make, was chiefly for the Subsistence of the
 ‘ Troops, and that the Marechal need not be in any Apprehensi-
 ‘ ons on that Account; at least, the Duke would answer for the
 ‘ Army, which he had the Honour to Command.’

On the 27th Prince *Eugene* and the States Deputies desired, that the Duke would consent to send the Quarter-Masters to view the *French* Camp; which his Grace could not refuse, without giving them some Suspicion of what he was order’d to disguise; and he the more readily consented to it, since he was sure no Action could happen, the Enemy being posted behind the *Schelde*. Those who were sent out on this Occasion found, that though the Distance between the Head of the *Soame*, and that of the *Schelde*, was not above a League and half, and all plain Ground, the Enemy had not yet offered to throw up any Retrenchment. The next Day after the Return of the Detachment, Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies came to Dine with the Duke. The Prince began with the Report that had been made to him (and did not doubt but the Duke had received the like Account) from the Quarter-Masters General, which went out with the Detachment to view the *French* Camp, and the Overture between the Sources of the *Soame* and the *Schelde*: They all agreed, the Ground was as advantageous as could be desired for attacking the Enemy; their Situation being such, as gave us an Opportunity of falling upon their Flank, and Rear. Monsieur *Vegelin*, who had the Curiosity to go out with the Quarter-Masters, declared himself to be of the same Opinion, and it was propos’d to march without the least Delay towards the Enemy, and attack them. ’Tis easy to imagine, what Difficulty the Duke was under to excuse the delaying a Matter, which, according to the Informations he had from the Quarter-Masters, and a great many other General Officers, who were out with the Detachment, seemed so practicable. The best Excuse he could make, was, by representing to them, that my Lord *Strafford*’s sudden Voyage to *England* gave him Reason to believe, that there must be something of Importance then transacting, which four or five Days would bring to light; and therefore he desired, they would defer this Undertaking, or any other, till he should receive fresh Letters from *England*, since so short a Delay could not be of any ill Consequence. Upon which, both the Prince and the Deputies told his Grace plainly, ‘ That his Answer was agreeable to
 ‘ the Suspicions they had for some time entertained, particularly
 ‘ since the Express of the 24th, which they knew had brought him
 ‘ Letters from *England*:’ And they were the more confirmed in these Suspicions, because Monsieur *Villars*, ‘ who had on all Oc-
 ‘ casions shewn himself very vigilant, did not send out a Man to
 ‘ observe their Motions, nor take any other Precautions to secure
 ‘ his Camp, where it lay so much exposed; and he could not be
 ‘ ignorant.

‘ ignorant, how strong a Detachment had been abroad on that Side.’ The Duke could not divert the Proposal which had been made to fall upon the *French* Army, by offering to undertake a Siege; since *Quesnoy*, the Place to be attacked, was within less than three Leagues of the Army, and all Things necessary for a Siege were already at *Marchiennes*; so that the Consequence of this Offer would have been the immediate investing of that Place, which was as contrary to the Queen’s last Orders, as a Battle. Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies seemed extremely dissatisfy’d with the Duke’s Answer, and said, ‘ They were obliged to give an Account of what ‘ had pass’d, and of the Delays made by the Duke, to their Masters, by Express.’

In this Posture Things continu’d for some Days; when, on *June* the 4th, two of the Deputies made a Visit to the Duke; and in the Evening sent him a long Memorial, containing the Substance of their Discourse with him. In this they tell the Duke, ‘ That, ‘ by Order of their Masters, they represent to him, with how ‘ great a degree of Surprize the States had received the News of his ‘ declaring, he would undertake nothing, till he had Letters from *England*; and of his refusing to assist either in a Siege, or a Battle: ‘ That it seem’d to them incomprehensible and unaccountable, ‘ why the Allies should lose such an apparent Opportunity, they ‘ had, as well as in regard to the Goodness and Number of their ‘ Troops, as the Situation of the Armies, to gain some great Advantage over the Enemy, which, if once neglected, might for ‘ ever be irretrievable: That they could by no Means conceive his ‘ Orders were so strict, as to tie up his Hands, when so fair an ‘ Occasion of annoying the Enemy presented itself: and, That in ‘ their Opinion, such Orders ought to be understood in the best ‘ Sense, so as to enjoin the declining any Attempt for some little ‘ Time, provided no great Prejudice might redound by that means ‘ to the Common Cause; but in no wise to justify the sitting still ‘ with their Arms across, in such a Situation, where Inaction ‘ would cut off all Hopes of their being able to attempt any ‘ Thing for the future; since, if the Army continued unactive for ‘ any Time, the Forage would be consumed, and the Operations for ‘ the rest of the Campaign would be rendered not only difficult but ‘ impracticable. Besides, the Enemy would have Time to entrench ‘ and fortify their Camp, as much as they pleas’d. That the States ‘ had order’d them to inforce those Arguments with others, and ‘ particularly with this, That the Army his Grace commanded ‘ consisted not only of Her Majesty’s National Troops, but for the ‘ most Part of such, as were in the Joint-Pay of Her Majesty and ‘ the States, the Command of which, indeed, belonged to his ‘ Grace, as General in Chief; but as those Troops were engaged

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' by both Powers jointly, to make War and act against the Enemy,
 ' they could not be exempted from that Service by his Grace alone,
 ' without the Knowledge and Consent of the States ; at least, with-
 ' out contradicting the Treaties, and the Ends, by, and for which
 ' they were engag'd : That not only the Treaty of the *Grand Al-*
 ' *liance*, but others made between Her Majesty and the States, o-
 ' blig'd Her Majesty to push on the War with Vigour ; but the De-
 ' claration his Grace made, That he could not act till farther Or-
 ' ders, at a Time, when, by his Grace's own Approbation, they
 ' had march'd just within Sight of the Enemy, and when there was
 ' so fair a Prospect of Success, if something were attempted, could
 ' not, they thought, be reconcil'd either with those Treaties, or the
 ' repeated Assurances, which Her Majesty had given them, by Let-
 ' ters, by my Lord *Strafford*, and by his Grace lately at the *Hague*.
 ' Therefore they desir'd his Grace, if he had any Regard to those
 ' Treaties and Assurances, which ought to be kept sacred, to push
 ' on the War with Vigour, offensively against the Enemy ; but that
 ' if his Grace persisted in his Resolution, of not acting offensively,
 ' they desir'd to know, whether he would consent, that the Troops
 ' under him might be employ'd to cover a Siege, which they would
 ' undertake ; and whether he would give a Promise to attack the
 ' Enemy, if they came to disturb them : That, in case his Grace
 ' refus'd, they did, in the most solemn Manner, and in the strong-
 ' est Terms, protest against the irreparable Damage, which such a
 ' Conduct would occasion to the Confederacy : That, in order the
 ' better to guide themselves, they demanded to know precisely, what
 ' his Orders were, how far they reach'd, and what Dependance the
 ' States might have on Her Majesty's Troops for the future ; and
 ' lastly, they requir'd, on their Part, that his Grace would not hin-
 ' der the Troops, in the joint Pay, from acting agreeably to the
 ' Reason of War, and their solemn Treaties and Engagements.
 ' The Conclusion of the Memorial was, ' That the States had or-
 ' der'd this Representation to be made in Writing to his Grace,
 ' that all the World and Posterity might see, that they have been
 ' so far from being guilty of the great Injury which the Common
 ' Cause receives from the present Inaction, that they have done all
 ' in their Power to prevent it, and that others are to answer for all
 ' the unhappy Consequences of it.

To the Substance of this Memorial, express'd before by the De-
 puties in their Discourse with the Duke, he could only answer,
 That before he enter'd upon Action, he should be glad to receive
 Letters from *England*, which he expected every Moment ; and this
 was all the Satisfaction he was then at Liberty to give to their De-
 mands, being so bound up, as he was, by his last Instructions.

The Duke immediately dispatch'd a Messenger to *England*, with
 an Account of what had pass'd, hoping, That, before they came to
 any

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any Extremities, he should have his final Orders ; and recommending it as a Matter of the greatest Importance, both to the Publick, and Himself, that he should know Her Majesty's Pleasure, as soon as might be.

In the mean time the Prince and the Deputies press'd the Duke continually for a positive Answer ; representing, at the same time, the Goodness and Superiority of the Confederate Troops, which could not be contradicted ; and concluding, the Duke must have Orders not to do any thing, tho' he would not own them ; since they knew, he could not answer for his Inaction, if it were not according to Order. In debating this Matter, one of the Deputies took, as the Duke thought, too much Liberty in Censuring the Proceedings of *England* ; which he was desir'd to forbear, as being no way agreeable to that good Understanding, which was so necessary to be kept up between the Queen and the States.

While the Duke was under this Uneasiness, on the 7th of *June*, a Letter came from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, dated the 17th of *May*, ' which express'd the Impatience Her Majesty was in to hear, ' Whether the Orders sent on the 10th of *May*, came safely and ' early to his Hands, and the Assurance She had of his Grace's ' punctual Obedience to Her Commands, in so nice and important ' a Conjunction.' His Grace return'd an Answer the next Day, representing, ' That Things were now come to great Extremity ; ' That he could not avoid seeing, every Day, fresh Marks of the ' ill Blood and Dissatisfaction caus'd among the Allies, by the Measures he was oblig'd to observe ; That many of them did not ' scruple to say, We were Betraying them, and this Ferment ' seem'd rather likely to encrease, than diminish ; and, considering ' the Circumstances we were in, it was hard to say, what might ' be the Consequences of it ; That, let the Peace, which he was ' in daily Expectation to hear of, be never so advantageous, he was ' apprehensive, that if the Allies should pretend to dislike it, he ' could not depend upon any Troops but those compos'd of Her ' Majesty's own Subjects : And what confirm'd him in this Opinion was, that he was well inform'd, That, if the Elector of ' *Hanover* did not approve of the Peace, his Troops would have ' Orders to serve with the *Dutch*, and would likewise be augment- ' ed by all that Prince could spare from other Parts ; and he was ' not without Suspicion, that Endeavours were likewise using to ' gain the *Danes*.' The Close of his Letter was in these Words, ' By this and my former, you may guess, how uneasy a Situation ' I am in ; and if there be no Prospect of Action, I do not see of ' what Use I am here ; and if it suit with Her Majesty's Service, ' I should be glad I might have Leave to return to *England* : But, ' in this, and all other Matters, I shall readily submit to Her Ma-

‘ jeſty’s Pleaſure. I am impatient to hear from you, what I am to depend upon.’

Prince *Eugene*’s Army had, for ſome Days before, been laying Bridges over the *Selle*; and tho’ the Pretence was only for Forage, the Duke concluded, that they intended to attack *Queſnoy*. In which caſe, ’twas his Opinion, the only Part he could act, would be, to go over the *Selle*, and take the Camp he deſign’d, as ſoon as the Forage on this Side was conſum’d: for, in this Situation, he would be between the Beſiegers and the *French* Army; and not conſenting to the Siege, he ſhould not tranſgreſs his Orders, as he preſum’d *Monſieur Villars* would do his, if he ſhould attempt any thing againſt him.

The Prince and Deputies having reſolv’d to beſiege *Queſnoy*, the two Armies, on the 7th, had made a Movement over the *Selle*, and had encamp’d, the Right of the Prince’s Army at *Haſpre*, and the Left at *St. Pithon*; the Right of that commanded by the Duke of *Ormonde* at *St. Pithon*, and the Left at *Cateau Cambreſis*. The next Day, *Queſnoy* was inveſted by a Detachment from the two Armies, conſiſting of thirty Battalions, and as many Squadrons, under the Command of General *Fagel*. The Duke, tho’ he had no Part in carrying on the Siege, yet could not reſuſe furniſhing ſeven Battalions, and nine Squadrons of the Troops in the joint Pay of *England* and the States, but avoided ſending any of thoſe, which were in Her Maſteſty’s whole Pay.

On the 10th, a Letter came from *Monſieur Villars*, wherein the Mareſchal lets the Duke know, ‘ He had receiv’d ſeveral Advices, that *Queſnoy* was actually inveſted, and that Part of the Troops in his Grace’s Army was employ’d in that Service; that, by Order of his Maſter, he deſires to know of him, if any Troops under his Command have a Share in undertaking or forming that Siege; for he cannot think, Prince *Eugene* would venture to attempt it with thoſe Forces alone, which he commands. He therefore begs his Grace would explain this Matter to him, that he may know how to act, and take his Meaſures, according as Prince *Eugene* perſeveres in, or deſiſts in this Enterprize. He adds, that a Courier went from *Paris*, the Morning before, with the Answer of *Spain* to the Queen, which, ’twas ſuppos’d, would be ſatisfactory. The Duke’s Answer was, That, as the Mareſchal obſerv’d himſelf, of what Conſequence it was to keep this Affair ſecret, he would leave him to judge, whether he could have done it better, than by the Conduct he had obſerv’d: That it was true, that for the Siege of *Queſnoy*, which it was not in his Power to prevent, he had furniſh’d ſome Troops, which were paid in part by the States, but not one ſingle Man ſolely in the Queen’s Pay: That he thought, ſince the Trenches were not open’d, the Siege would have no Effect to break the Meaſures concerted be-

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‘tween their Sovereigns, before they could receive their final Instructions.’ He concludes, ‘He was surpriz’d, upon the Duke of *Wirtemberg*’s informing him, that the Mareschal had said, to one of that Duke’s Trumpets, that the *English* would do the *French* no hurt, nor the *French* them; that himself had such Orders, and did not doubt, but his Grace had the same.

The Mareschal, in another Letter the next Day, deny’d, ‘That he had ever seen, or heard of any Trumpet from the Duke of *Wirtemberg*: That this was a meer Invention of those, who had a mind to give a Reputation to the *Dutch Gazettes*, in which it had been affirm’d, that his Grace had shew’d Prince *Eugene* his Orders, not to engage in any Attempt.’ He desires to be inform’d by his Grace, ‘Whether the Army under his Command would oppose any Attempt, which the King’s Forces would certainly make upon the Prince, if he continu’d the Siege.’ And adds, ‘That the King, while he sees Prince *Eugene* undertaking a Siege, and knows the Army under his Grace ought not to act, directly or indirectly, against his, would be very much displeas’d with him, if he should continue inactive.’

In the mean Time an Express arriv’d from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, with two Letters; the first, of *May* the 27th, acquainting the Duke, ‘That the affected Alarm and Clamour rais’d with so much Industry, both in *England* and *Holland*, upon what had lately pass’d between his Grace, Prince *Eugene*, and the *Dutch*, gives Her Majesty no Uneasiness whatsoever; and that, as Her Orders were founded on the most just, as well as prudent Considerations, his Grace had obey’d them with that Firmness which became him: That Her Majesty approves his Grace’s Proposal, in taking the Camp he had mention’d, to cover the Siege of *Quessnoy*, if the Prince and the States persist in their Design of attacking that Place: That ’twas Her Majesty’s Pleasure, his Grace should find the most plausible Pretence of sending a Trumpet to Monsieur *Villars*, to inform that General of the true State of Affairs, and to acquaint him, that Things would not continue long in this uncertain Condition, since, in four or five Days, the Duke might expect to hear from *England*, that the Peace was secure, or to receive Orders for entering immediately upon Action. His Grace was directed to conclude, by saying, that, since the Suspence would so soon be remov’d, he hoped the Mareschal would not oblige him to come to any Action, either to defend himself, or to join with Prince *Eugene*, as he must necessarily do, if the Prince should be attack’d.’

The Second Letter from Mr. Secretary, of the 28th, gives an Account of the Question mov’d that Day, and rejected in both Houses of Parliament, ‘That the *Queen* would send Orders to his Grace to fight;’ and of the Address which was carried, in the Commons, without

without a Division, and in the Lords by a Majority of Twenty Eight. The Secretary adds, ‘ That the Spirit, which was then shewn in both Houses, was more considerable, and a better Omen, than even the Majority by which they prevail’d.’ Inclosed was a Letter, of the same Date, from the Secretary to the Marquis of Torcy, to this Purpose; ‘ That the Remonstrances, which the States had made to the Queen, upon the Duke of *Ormonde*’s refusing to engage with them, either in a Battle, or a Siege, had no other Effect on Her Majesty, than to make Her renew the same Orders to the Duke; but in case Prince *Eugene* and the States, which was not very likely, should persist in their Design of besieging any Place, tho’ the Army of the Queen should not concur in it; the Duke of *Ormonde* was to desire Monsieur *Villars* not to attempt any Thing against them, nor oblige them to come to any Action: That, in a very few Days, the Queen expected the Answer of King *Philip* from his most Christian Majesty; upon which, either Her Majesty would be satisfied, or give Orders to Her General to act with all possible Vigour: That so inconsiderable a Delay as this, could be of no Prejudice to their Interests; and therefore the Queen did not doubt, but the Marechal would think himself oblig’d to hinder any general Action, by giving no Disturbance to the Allies, as the Duke of *Ormonde* had already prevented it, by refusing to act against the Army of *France*.’

If Prince *Eugene*’s Army and the *Dutch* were so unreasonable, as to press on to a Siege, without his Grace’s Concurrence, and to refuse to stay a few Days, while he expected his final Orders, the Duke is directed to send this Letter, with one from himself, in the Manner which has been mention’d, to Monsieur *Villars*; which he accordingly did, on the 12th. To this the Marechal return’d an Answer the next Day, ‘ That tho’ it was mortifying to see an Enemy undertake a Siege, without giving him any Disturbance, he would not attempt any Thing against the Army of Prince *Eugene*.’

On the 15th, Monsieur *Welderen*, and Monsieur *Hop* (who arriv’d the Day before from the *Hague*, with some secret Commission to the Army, and had been in Conference with Prince *Eugene*, and the other Deputies, for three Hours) came, by Order of their Masters, the States, to the Duke. Monsieur *Welderen* began the Discourse, by assuring his Grace, in the Name of the States, that they had the same profound Veneration and Respect for the Queen as ever, and would take Care to shew it on all Occasions; though they had Reason to apprehend, some ill Offices had been done them, by their being represented, as if they had too great a Correspondence with the Whiggish Party in *England*. They desir’d the Duke to assure Her Majesty of the contrary; and intimated the Design of the States, to send an extraordinary Deputation to Her Majesty, for
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the same Purpose. Discourſing afterwards on the Subject of the Siege of *Queſnoy*, the Deputies asked the Duke, if he would furniſh any more of the Auxiliary Troops for that Service? To which he answered, That he had given them what they at firſt deſired, and could ſpare no more. The Duke was then asked, Whether, in Caſe of their being attacked, during the Siege, he would cover them? To which he replied, he would, till he had further Orders. They then enquired particularly, Whether they might depend upon his Aſſiſtance, in Caſe the *French* ſhould make a Detour, and come to them by the Way of *Landrecy* and *Bavay*? He aſſured them they might, 'till ſuch Time as he ſhould have Inſtructions to the contrary; and, that then they ſhould not fail of being acquainted with it. The Deputy, who, not long ago, had ſpoken ſomewhat too freely of the Proceedings in *England*, made all the Excuses that could be deſired; and the Behaviour of the Field Deputies was very different from what it was, when his Grace ſaw them laſt.

As ſoon as the Duke had received the News of what had paſſed in Parliament, he ordered it to be tranſlated and ſent to *Monſieur Bulou*; who came next Morning, and, in his Diſcourſe, ſeemed not very well ſatisfy'd with the *Dutch*; and took ſome Pains to perſuade his Grace, That the Elector of *Hanover*, his Maſter, would never give into any Meaſures, but in concert with the Queen. And indeed the Language was now very much changed among all the Foreign Troops.

At this very Juncture of Time, Advice came from good Hands in *Holland*, That the *Dutch* had engaged Mr. P——m to propoſe, in their Name, to the Marquis of *Torcy*, a ſeparate Negotiation with *France*, excluſive of the *Engliſh*; and to repreſent to him the particular Advantages, *France* might promiſe itſelf from ſuch a Treaty; but that this Propoſal received not the leaſt Countenance from *Versailles*. About the ſame Time, the Duke received a Letter of *June 17*, from the Lord Privy Seal, wherein, among other Things, the Biſhop informs him, 'That the Miniſters of the States, though frequently put in mind and called upon, had never been prevailed with to treat about any Plan of a Peace, to that very Day. That therefore, upon their making ſo ill a Return to the Queen's Condeſcenſions towards them, and reſuſing to concert Meaſures with Her, he had been ordered by Her Maſteſty to take the firſt ſolemn Occaſion to declare, that all Her Maſteſty's Offers were founded upon this expreſs Condition, that they came immediately into the Queen's Meaſures; and that She looked upon Herſelf from their Conduct now, to be under no Obligation whatever to them.'

On the 21ſt an Expreſs arrived from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, with a Letter, dated *June* the 7th. This owns the Receipt of all the

the Duke's Letters, ' and begins with mentioning the Satisfaction
 ' with which Her Majesty hears of that exact Obedience; which his
 ' Grace had paid to Her Orders.' Enclos'd were Copies of two
 Letters and a Memorial, which were to be dispatched the same
 Day from *England* to the Marquis of *Torcy*, containing Proposals
 for a Cessation of Arms for two Months, between the Armies in
 the *Netherlands*: In these the Queen insists on the Execution of the
 Articles relating to King *Philip's* Renunciation of the Crown of
France, and on the immediate Delivery of *Dunkirk*, as Points,
 without which, She would not declare for a Cessation. The Se-
 cretary acquainted his Grace, ' That Her Majesty was positively
 ' resolved to continue no longer on the present Foot; Matters be-
 ' ing now brought to a short Issue. If these Conditions were ac-
 ' cepted, and sent him Sign'd by the Marquis of *Torcy*, and *Dun-*
 ' *kirk* put into our Possession, he was publickly to own, he could
 ' act no longer against the *French*: If they were not consented to,
 ' he was entirely free from Restraint, and at liberty to take all
 ' reasonable Measures, which were in his Power, for annoying the
 ' Enemy. That he hopes my Lord *Strafford*, then going to *U-*
 ' *trecht*, will find the *Dutch* more tractable than they have hitherto
 ' been; in which Case, the Queen would do her utmost, to settle
 ' the Terms of a Cessation, and of a Peace too, in the best Manner
 ' for them. That it was with the greatest Regret, Her Majesty
 ' found Herself constrained to come to such Extremity with her
 ' Allies; but what Remedy had She left? when, either She must
 ' follow this Course, or submit to be used worse than any petty
 ' Prince, and see the Negotiation wrested out of Her Hands, for no
 ' other Reason, but because some Benefit was like to accrue to Her
 ' Subjects by a Peace. That 'twas probable, Monsieur *Villars*
 ' would receive the Orders (for the Surrendry of *Dunkirk*) which
 ' would be sent from *Versailles*; and, That therefore to the King's
 ' Resolution upon these Articles, they were either to look on
 ' themselves, on both Sides, as freed from any restrictive Orders,
 ' and in full liberty of Acting against each other; or openly to
 ' declare for a Cessation of Arms, while the best Means possible
 ' were used with the rest of the Allies, to do the same. How-
 ' ever, the Queen's Declaration was to be positive. That his Grace,
 ' to be sure, was informed of the Endeavours used by the States to
 ' seduce the Troops in Her Majesty's Pay, from Her, and to bor-
 ' row Money for carrying on their Subsistence. The Queen makes
 ' no doubt therefore, but his Grace was on his Guard, and
 ' take the best Precaution to make those Troops steady to Her
 ' Majesty's Interest, and to prevent any Surprize: That Care
 ' would be taken to let the several Ministers know, in what Manner
 ' the Queen would resent any Steps of this Kind; and that his
 ' Grace would do well to speak the same Language to the Generals

‘ of the Foreign Corps, paid by the Queen. The Secretary observes, how the Duke had been pressed, he might say, undecently, to give an Account, what Orders he had received; and tells the Duke, That he himself had been questioned, by the Dutch Minister, much in the same Manner: whom he answered, by demanding, what the private Instructions were, which the States had given to their Deputies and Generals. He is of Opinion, That, in Case *France* should agree with the Queen, and his Grace should, by Consequence, refuse publicly to act against them, the Allies would have little Reason to complain: since *Dunkirk* was something more valuable than *Quesnoy*, and a Town delivered up, was more cheaply acquired than a Town taken by Siege.’

The Duke immediately sent a Trumpet to the Marechal; and, *June* the 25th, received a Copy of the Articles, the Original of which had been Signed by the Marquis of *Torcy*, in the Manner the Queen had demanded. Upon this, the Earl of *Orkney* was directed to prepare himself to march with ten Battalions, in order to take Possession of *Dunkirk*.

This Morning, the Duke wrote to Monsieur *Villars*, and signify’d to him, ‘ That he wished the Marquis of *Torcy* would have given himself the Trouble to have Signed the Copy of the Articles, which would have been more regular, and more agreeable to the Duke’s Instructions: However, he would not obstruct the accomplishing so good a Work, by raising Difficulties and Scruples, and insisting too much upon the want of Formality. That he was just going to make Prince *Eugene*, and the States-Deputies a Visit, with whom he was to keep Measures to the last; and, that he should endeavour to persuade them to desist from the Siege of *Quesnoy*, and declare to them, that, in Case of their Refusal, he should be obliged to withdraw the Army of the Queen. That he should send away a Detachment, the next Day, to take Possession of *Dunkirk*; but was of Opinion, that the Marechal should have given him an Order in Form, for its Surrender; and desired, he would lose no Time, in a Matter of so great Importance; concluding, That, as soon as he knew the Resolutions of the Prince, and the Deputies, he would not fail to let him have Notice of it.’

The same Day (*June* the 25th) the Duke visited the Prince and the Deputies, in pursuance of his Promise, to acquaint them with any fresh Orders he should receive from *England*, incompatible with his covering the Siege of *Quesnoy*; and told them, That the *French* King had agreed to several Articles demanded by the Queen, as a Foundation for a Suspension of Arms; and, among others, the giving up immediately into our Possession the Town of *Dunkirk*. That the Duke therefore could no longer cover the

Siege of *Quesnoy*; being obliged, by his Instructions, to march with the Queen's Troops, and those in Her Majesty's Pay, and to declare a Cessation of Arms, as soon as *Dunkirk* was delivered up: And he hoped, they would readily concur therein, which would be the most powerful Motive to induce the Queen, to take all possible Care of their Interests at the Peace. He likewise endeavoured to shew them, That *Dunkirk*, as a Cautionary Town, was a Place of greater Consequence to the Allies, than *Quesnoy*. The Deputies desired five Days time to consult their Masters, upon so important a Matter; which the Duke would have allowed them, if in the mean Time they would have agreed to desist from the Prosecution of the Siege, or at least to make some Delay in it, which they said was not in their Power. However, He at last consented to give them three Days; that being no Hindrance to the Execution of his Orders, because he could not expect to have an Account, before that Time, from the *French* Court, how *Dunkirk* should be delivered up to him. The Deputies refused to let a Detachment go through any of their Towns, in the Way to *Dunkirk*; and both they, and the Prince, told his Grace, That his marching away with the Queen's Troops, and the Foreigners in Her Pay, would leave them to the Mercy of the *French*; but that they were sure, the Foreigners would not march; which, it seems, they had very good Ground to believe.

The Duke had taken the first Opportunity to sound the Generals of the Foreign Troops in the Queen's Pay; they seemed, at first, well inclined to continue to Her Majesty's Interest; and particularly General *Bulou*, who came to his Grace, seemingly with with great Joy and Satisfaction, as soon as he had read the Queen's Speech, and told him, He was ready, with his Master's Troops, to follow all such Orders, as his Grace should think fit to give him. But, upon discoursing with him now, the Duke found, that Means had been used to prevail upon him, as well as the rest; who agreed in making Excuses, and pretending they could not separate from the Confederacy, without express Directions from their Masters, to whom they had sent Couriers accordingly. They alledged, That neither the Grand Alliance, nor the particular Conventions, admitted of any Parties treating of, or making Peace, or even a Suspension of Arms, without the Consent of the others. The Duke thought it belonged not to him to enter into these last Particulars; but insisted on the Commands he had received from the Queen, and the Engagements they were under to assist him, their General, in an effectual Compliance with them; representing, at the same time, the just Reasons the Queen had to resent, and the ill Consequences that would attend their Refusal.

However, the Duke finding, That the Foreign Troops would obey no Orders, but what they themselves, in Conjunction with
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the Prince and the Deputies, should approve, countermanded the Detachment designed for *Dunkirk*. And in the Afternoon sent to *Monf. Villars* an Account of the Result of his Visit, and desired to know of him more particularly, ‘ In what Manner *Dunkirk* was to be put into our Hands, in Case the *English* Troops march’d alone, without the Auxiliaries ; which he had some Reason to suspect, might scruple to go along with him : Adding, That he hoped he would not defer sending the necessary Orders for the Delivery of that Town, which would be a Means to make every Thing, relating to the Peace, go on the more easily, and the Cessation of Arms take Effect the sooner.’

This Precaution the Duke thought very necessary, having no Assurance, that *Dunkirk* would be surrendered upon a Cessation being declared, not by the Queen’s Army, of which he had the Command, but by that Part of it only, which consisted of Her Majesty’s own Subjects.

The same Day, a second Express arrived with a Letter, dated *June* the 11th, where Mr. Secretary *St. John* acquaints the Duke, ‘ That, supposing he receives from the Court of *France*, an Acceptance of the Conditions, proposed by Her Majesty, for a Suspension of Arms, the Queen directs that he would consider, how to take Possession of *Dunkirk* in the safest and best Manner ; and this, not only with respect to the Enemy, but to the Allies : And, That he would know of Monsieur *Villars*, what Facility he could give on his Part in this Matter, and how his Grace might best obviate such Difficulties, as the Prince and the Deputies might create. And though what had passed lately in *England*, had made the Queen absolutely Mistress of Her own Conduct, and cut off all Hopes of breaking through Her Measures : ’Twas good, however, to suppose the worst ; and to omit no Precaution, in an Affair so nice in its Nature, and of so great Importance to the Queen’s Honour, and to the Interest of Her Kingdoms. Should the *French* not comply with the Articles proposed by Her Majesty, his Grace understood himself to be at liberty to act, as if no restrictive Orders had ever been sent him.’

The Duke, upon a Supposition that Monsieur *Villars* would send him a satisfactory Answer, and that the Troops would persist in their Refusal to obey his Orders, designed to make use of the safest Method, and march with all the *English* Troops, and the Artillery, the *English* Corps being so small, that it could not be any other Way secure. They would then have the Sea open, in Case the Queen should think fit to recall them ; the Town of *Dunkirk*, and Forts depending upon it, would hold all the Foot, and the Horse might be encamp’d under the Cannon. And this the Duke had Reason to think the more necessary, since the *Dutch* had refused to let a Detachment pass through their Towns ; and, should the Troops be separated,

rated, he could not be so able to answer for the Execution of any Orders the Queen might send him, as he should be at *Dunkirk*. This was the Disposition the Duke thought most suitable to the present Posture of Affairs. And, that nothing might be omitted on his Side, he sent to the foreign Generals written Orders, requiring them to be ready to march with him, upon the first Motion he should make.

On the 27th, a Trumpet from Monsierr *Villars* let the Duke know, ' That he had dispatched a Courier to Court, about the Subject of his last Letter ; and in the mean Time informed him, ' That the Orders for the Delivery of *Dunkirk*, of course, went from ' Court to the Lieutenant-General that commanded in the Place, ' who, he supposed, would have Directions to surrender it, as soon ' as the Marechal could bring him Word, that the Cessation was ' agreed upon : And this, he thinks, might commence immediately, ' since the King had agreed to all the Queen's Demands. But he ' begs leave to observe to the Duke, That the King might very ' well be astonished, that, in case of a Cessation, the Generals of ' the Auxiliary Troops should make any Difficulty to separate from ' Prince *Eugene* ; and, that 'twas surprizing, that the *Dutch* should ' have more Power over Men, which they do not pay, to make them ' hazard their Lives, than the Queen, who has paid them these ' dozen Years, should have to persuade them not to expose them- ' selves to any Danger.'

On the 29th, Monsieur *Villars* sent the Answer, which the Marquis of *Torcy* had dispatched to Mr. Secretary *St. John* the 27th, about the Point of a Cessation. The Substance of the Marquis's Letter was, ' That, notwithstanding so essential a Difference, as ' that of the Auxiliaries still continuing with Prince *Eugene*, the ' Duke of *Ormonde* demanded the Surrender of *Dunkirk* : That in ' the very Articles proposed for a Cessation, 'tis expressed, that the ' Cessation should be between the Armies, which are at present in ' the *Netherlands* ; that 'tis upon this View so important a Place as ' *Dunkirk* was to be delivered up: That the chief Motive, which ' made *England* and *France* agree to a Cessation, was, that nothing ' might happen between the Armies to interrupt the Measures ' which were taking for a Peace : To effect this, nothing but a ' general Cessation would be sufficient ; and, if the Enemies of ' Peace had still the Liberty, the Means, and Power of acting left ' them, the Condition upon which the King was to surrender *Dun-* ' *kirk* to the Queen, would not be complied with on Her Majesty's ' Part : That the King always thought, the Queen was entire Mi- ' stress of the Troops which composed Her Army ; and that they ' had all Orders to follow the Duke of *Ormonde*'s Directions ; and ' therefore, upon a Cessation, were to forbear Action, as well as the ' *English* : That in Case the *English* alone left the Army, Prince ' *Eugene*

* *Eugene* finding himself the sole General at the Head of great
 * Numbers of Men, would hazard any Thing to come to an Ac-
 * tion; and would not at all scruple to sacrifice Troops, which his
 * Master did not pay, and which were to be under the Prince's
 * Command, only during the Remainder of the Campaign. There-
 * fore, since these Proposals for a Cessation neither answered the
 * Measures which the Queen had hitherto taken for a Peace, nor
 * agreed to the Articles, which had been concerted between Her Ma-
 * jesty and the King upon that Subject, the King was persuaded,
 * that the Queen would give the Duke of *Ormonde* full Instructions
 * to separate the whole entire Army, which was in Her Majesty's
 * Pay, and actually under the Duke's Command, from that of
 * of Prince *Eugene*; and, when this was done, the King would be
 * ready to deliver up *Dunkirk*, as it had been agreed upon in the
 * Articles for the Cessation.'

The View of this Letter gave the Duke good Reason to hope,
 that the Queen would approve of his deferring to separate Her
 Troops, and to march towards *Dunkirk*, till he had sufficient As-
 surance, that the Place would be delivered up to him: Whereas
 now the contrary appeared so evidently, that he should have
 thought himself immediately at liberty to act in Conjunction with
 the Allies, would he have taken upon himself to make a Step of
 that Consequence, without the Queen's particular Orders; but
 these he had further Room to expect, since the Allies were now en-
 gaged in the Siege of *Quesnoy*, and in no Condition therefore at pre-
 sent of attacking the Enemy. And the Duke was the less uneasy
 under this Delay, being sensible, that *England* had not been able on
 Her Part to make good the Condition of a *General* Cessation, upon
 which the immediate Delivery of *Dunkirk* was promised.

Monsieur *Villars*, in his Letter, had invited the Duke of *Ormonde*
 to an Interview, which the Duke (being no Way impowered to
 agree to it, and resolved never to depart the least Tittle from his
 Instructions) declined, and excused himself in a Letter to the Ma-
 reschal.

While the Duke was dispatching an Express with an Account
 of all these Proceedings, a Messenger brought him a Letter, of
 June the 14th, from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, which gave the
 Duke an Account, ' That the Courier returned from *France* the
 * Night before, and that Her Majesty's Demands were complied
 * with to Her Satisfaction. If therefore his Grace had any Difficul-
 * ties, as several were foreseen, which might arise in taking Posses-
 * sion of *Dunkirk*, he might keep his Army entire; and the Mea-
 * sures were ready in *England*, for sending over Troops sufficient
 * for that Service: That nothing could be more dreadful to the
 * *Dutch*, than this Town in *English* Hands: That he was there-
 * fore to consider the Temper they were in; and, if he were likely
 * to

' to have the least Disturbance given him on this Account, he was to
 ' keep the Secret, send his Accounts to the Queen, and in the mean
 ' Time should be ready to enter the Place from *England*; where
 ' Means would be found of concerting Things so, that the Declara-
 ' tion for a Suspension of Arms should be exactly tim'd with the E-
 ' vacuation of *Dunkirk*. If he had taken Possession, well: If not,
 ' they could be able to do it from thence; and perhaps, in the pre-
 ' sent Ferment, he had better lie still, and let *Dunkirk* be possess'd
 ' first, and the Clamour happen afterwards.

On the 5th of *July* came another Letter, of *June* the 20th, from
 the Secretary, informing the Duke, ' That the Queen had order'd
 ' my Lord *Strafford* to make all possible Haste to the Army, with
 ' Instructions, which were necessary in this critical Conjunction:
 ' That the Foreign Ministers had been told, that the Queen would
 ' look upon Herself as acquitted from all Obligations of Arrears of
 ' Subsidies, or Pay, to that Prince whose Troops should refuse to
 ' obey Her General's Orders without Hesitation: That his Grace
 ' should declare as much to those who commanded them, and re-
 ' quire a positive Answer from them: That, till my Lord *Strafford*
 ' came, the best Use his Grace could make of the intermediate
 ' Time, would be, to continue instantly on his Guard, and to speak
 ' in the plainest and most resolute Manner to them.'

Enclosed came a Copy of a Letter, from the Secretary to the
 Marquis of *Torcy*, of the same Date, the Subject of which was;
 ' That the Queen, having receiv'd an Account of what had pass'd,
 ' both from the Duke of *Ormonde*, and from *France*, commanded
 ' him to acquaint the Marquis, how very great a Dissatisfaction it
 ' was to Her to see, that the Enemies of Peace had again found out
 ' Means to retard its Conclusion, by exposing the Methods, by
 ' which it was to be gain'd, to new Difficulties and Dangers. But
 ' as Her Majesty had taken a firm and immoveable Resolution, not
 ' to give the least Way to those Obstructions, and to continue Her
 ' utmost Endeavours, in Concert with the King, towards establish-
 ' ing a general Peace; so She did not doubt, but She should be able
 ' to defeat the last Efforts of those, who either sought their own
 ' Interest, or gratify'd their private Resentments, in prolonging the
 ' Miseries of War. That he, in the Queen's Name, had declar'd
 ' to the Ministers of those Princes, who had Troops in Her Pay,
 ' that, in this Juncture, Her Majesty would look upon the Con-
 ' duct of Foreign Generals, as a Declaration of their Masters, for,
 ' or against Her; since they must either follow the Plan, which
 ' She had laid for obtaining a Peace, or that, which the Emperor
 ' and the States had form'd for the breaking it off. That the Queen
 ' could not but persuade Herself, that those Generals, after a little
 ' Reflection, would obey the Duke of *Ormonde*'s Orders without
 ' the least Hesitation; but if they did not, Her Majesty would pay
 ' those

' those Troops no longer. That those Ministers had writ to their
 ' Generals by this Courier ; and the Duke of *Ormonde* would re-
 ' ceive Orders, not only to make the same Declarations, but to
 ' put them immediately in Execution, if they refus'd to obey. That
 ' the Queen thought this Method could not fail of succeeding ; but
 ' in Case any of the Foreign Troops persisted in their Design of
 ' staying with Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Ormonde* should retire
 ' with the *English* Forces, and all the Foreigners, who would march
 ' with him, (which to be sure would be the greatest Part of them)
 ' and declare, that Her Majesty would no longer act against *France*,
 ' nor pay those that did. That Her Majesty, who had hitherto ob-
 ' serv'd Measures with Her Allies, being forc'd by them to such an
 ' Extremity as this, thought Herself justified before God and Men,
 ' and at Liberty to carry on the Negotiations at *Utrecht*, or else-
 ' where, without regarding, whether they concurr'd with Her or
 ' no. So that, if the King would surrender the Towns and Forts
 ' of *Dunkirk* into the Queen's Hands, tho' all the Foreign Troops
 ' should refuse to obey the Duke of *Ormonde*, Her Majesty would
 ' no longer make any Scruple of concluding Her particular Peace ;
 ' and would set a Time for the others to come in upon those Condi-
 ' tions, which should be agreed upon between Her and *France*. That
 ' the Peace now was in the King's Breast : If all the Army of the
 ' Duke of *Ormonde* should agree to a Suspension of Arms, the first
 ' Project, which was concerted between them, had its Effect ; if
 ' they did not, the Duke would withdraw, with the *English*, from
 ' the Allies, and the Foreign Troops would be left to take Service
 ' with the *Dutch* ; who were so far from being left to furnish this
 ' new Expence, that they were not in a Condition to support the
 ' Charges they were already at. In short, that *England* would re-
 ' tire from the Theatre of War ; and since there would be but a
 ' few Powers left in a Capacity to make Head against *France*, the
 ' Peace might be concluded between these two Kingdoms in a few
 ' Weeks. These were the Proposals Her Majesty made ; and She
 ' believ'd the King would find his Account in them, as well upon
 ' the latter, as the former Plan ; and that, besides, he would
 ' think it for both their Interests, to make immediately a general
 ' Cessation, as well by Sea as by Land, between the two Crowns ;
 ' That every Moment of Time was precious, in such a Juncture ;
 ' and therefore the Marquis would dispatch a Courier to the Duke,
 ' at the same Time he sent to *England*. If the Duke had Notice,
 ' that the King had given Orders to the Officer, who commanded in
 ' *Dunkirk*, for the Surrender of it, his Grace would immediately
 ' execute, what the Secretary had propos'd ; and, in that Case, Her
 ' Majesty would send some Regiments from *England*, to take Pos-
 ' session of that Place, which would be a Way less liable to Acci-
 ' dents, than making a Detachment from the Duke's Army, as was
 ' at

‘at first design’d.’ The Letter concludes, ‘That the Queen had resolv’d to send the Lord *Strafford* directly to the Army.

In the Secretary’s Letter, (wherein this to the Marquis of *Torcy* was inclos’d) the Duke was further reminded, ‘That if he receiv’d an Account from the Court of *France*, that Her Majesty’s last Proposals were agreed to, and Orders dispatch’d for the Surrender of *Dunkirk*, he would have no more to do, than to declare the Suspension of Arms between *Great Britain* and *France*; to keep the whole Body, which should obey his Orders, entire, and to withdraw, in the best Manner, which the Circumstances, he should be in, would allow of.’

Upon the Receipt of these Letters, the Duke sent an Express to *England*, and acquainted Mr. Secretary, ‘What a great Advantage he should have in this difficult Conjunction, that the next Commands of the Queen were to be brought him by the Earl of *Strafford*; whose long Experience, and good Advice would, he hop’d, help him to execute his Orders with better Success, and more Satisfaction to Her Majesty, than he had hitherto been able to do; tho’ he could scarce be so sanguine, as to flatter himself, that all his Lordship had to say, would prevail on the Generals of the Foreign Troops, in the Queen’s Pay, to change their Conduct, till he had Orders from their respective Masters. That he hop’d, my Lord *Stafford* would be able to inform him of the Rout he was to take, that the Troops might not be in Danger of wanting Subsistence, since the States, to be sure, would not be willing we should live upon their Territories; and he could not see, how we could do it any where else, without paying for what we had; and there was no Possibility of staying longer in the present Camp, after we had declar’d the Suspension of Arms.’ His Grace added, ‘That he could not conceal from him, that there were Advices from *France*, which said, that Monsieur *Villars* oppos’d, as much as he could, the delivering up *Dunkirk* on any other Conditions, than a general Suspension between the Queen’s Army, and that of the King his Master.’

The Duke had already told the Foreign Generals, how they might expect the Queen would resent their refusing to obey his Orders, and had sent them the Letters transmitted from the Ministers in *England* on that Subject. Monsieur *Wilks*, who commanded the *Saxon* Troops, was the only one he had yet seen, since the sending of those Letters; and he told his Grace, ‘That he could give no other Answer, than he did at first; that he expected, every Day, positive Orders from his Master’s Minister at *Utrecht*; that his Head was at Stake, and he must have a good Warrant for what he did.’

On *July* the 7th, in the Morning, Monsieur *Villars* sent a Letter to the Duke, with the Orders for the Surrender of *Dunkirk*:

In

In this he tells him, ' That though, as a *Frenchman*, he ought to
 ' be griev'd at the Loss of so important a Place, yet he did not re-
 ' gret it, since it made so firm a Union between the two Nations.
 ' That he saw, by the Secretary's Letter to the Marquis of *Torcy*,
 ' that the Queen had taken her last Resolutions, to finish the great
 ' Work of Peace with Firmness and Spirit; which had been so
 ' long obstructed by a malignant Party, and by the Self-Interest of
 ' some private Persons, as well as Princes: And
 ' that he found, by what was writ, by the King's * *Monf. Mefnager*.
 ' Order, to the Count of *St. John* *, that his
 ' Master had taken the same Resolutions, and would not be want-
 ' ing in any Thing the Queen should desire. The Mareschal con-
 ' cludes, with his Approbation of sending Troops from *England*,
 ' to take Possession of *Dunkirk*, and thinks it most proper for the
 ' Interest of both Nations, that the Duke should stay at the Head
 ' of as great a Body of Men, as possible.

The Duke could not but think it a little particular, that, when
 a Detachment was design'd to go from the Army to take Possession
 of *Dunkirk*, the Mareschal sent him no Orders for its Surrender,
 but said, they were to go of course to the Commander of that
 Place: And yet now, when he knew the Troops for that Service
 would be sent from *England*, he should dispatch those Orders im-
 mediately to the Camp; which indeed could be made the less Use
 of there, since the Duke neither knew, who commanded the De-
 tachment, nor how to convey the Orders to him, if he had
 knew.

Tho', upon the Receipt of these Orders for the Delivery of
Dunkirk, the Duke was now told, he had no more to do, than to
 declare the Suspension of Arms between *Great Britain* and *France*,
 and to withdraw in the best manner he could; yet, since he ex-
 pected every Moment my Lord *Strafford*, with fresh Instructions
 for his future Conduct, he was not willing to do either of them,
 till that Lord arriv'd. In the mean Time he sent Monsieur *Villars*
 Word, that he hop'd, the same Orders had been dispatch'd to
England, since the Troops, design'd to take Possession of *Dun-*
kirk, were to go from thence.

On the 8th of *July*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, the *Prussian* Gene-
 ral, waited upon the Duke, and told him, That the Night before,
 he had receiv'd a Courier from the King, his Master, in answer to
 what he had writ, upon the first Proposal his Grace had made to
 him; the King's Answer was, ' That he was extremely surpriz'd
 ' at what the Queen desir'd, in relation to the withdrawing his
 ' Troops from the rest of the Allies, and making a Seperate Peace:
 ' That he never had any Intimation of it from the Queen, and
 ' wonder'd such a Proposal should be made to his General, with-
 ' out his being first acquainted with it himself: That in the Queen's
 E Speech,

‘ Speech, he did not find any thing particular mention’d for him,
 ‘ but all left at large ; that he was dependant upon the Empire ;
 ‘ and, if he should seperate from the Imperial Troops, in a Mat-
 ‘ ter of this Consequence, it might be as fatal to him as what had
 ‘ happen’d to the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* : And therefore
 ‘ he hop’d, the Queen could not take it ill, if he kept his Troops
 ‘ with those of the Empire. .

Monfieur *Bulou* (who had first gone to the other Army for Advice) told the Duke, the same Day, That, by his Instructions, he could not seperate his Troops from the Allies, without particular Orders from his Master ; and that, if he should, his Head must answer for it. The Duke of *Wirtemberg* said, he had a Letter from the *Danish* Minister ; but alledg’d, he could not withdraw his Troops, without Directions from the King.

July the 12th, early in the Morning, arriv’d an Express from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, with a Letter, dated *June* the 27th, containing another from the Marquis de *Torcy*, of *July*, ‘ Giving an
 ‘ Account of the *French* King’s agreeing to the Queen’s Proposals,
 ‘ in Relation to *Dunkirk*.’ The Secretary, in his Letter, tells his Grace, ‘ That Sir *James Abercrombie* and Colonel *King*, had
 ‘ been, the Night before, dispatch’d to *Dunkirk*, to prepare every
 ‘ thing for the Reception of the Queen’s Troops, and for the
 ‘ Evacuation of that Place by the *French* ; and, that they would
 ‘ inform his Grace of their Arrival there, and of their Proceedings
 ‘ in the Execution of Her Majesty’s Commands : That Sir *John*
 ‘ *Leake* was gone to the *Downes*, where a considerable Squadron of
 ‘ Ships was assembled, and, he hop’d, that, in the very Beginning
 ‘ of the next Week, the Fleet and Forces would be ready to Sail :
 ‘ That the Earl of *Strafford*’s going by the Way of *Holland*, in-
 ‘ stead of that of *Ostend*, as was at first design’d, would make him
 ‘ arrive at the Army somewhat later than ’twere to be wish’d ; and
 ‘ his Grace would, no doubt, be impatient to receive those Lights
 ‘ and Informations for his Guidance, in this nice Conjunction of
 ‘ Affairs, which he was amply instructed to give him : That upon
 ‘ hearing from Sir *James Abercrombie* and Colonel *King*, that the
 ‘ Orders for evacuating *Dunkirk*, were receiv’d by the Governor,
 ‘ and that he was ready to admit the Queen’s Troops into the
 ‘ Place ; his Grace was, without losing a Moment, if he had not
 ‘ done it already, to declare a Suspension of Arms, and to with-
 ‘ draw with the *British* Troops, and such others as should obey
 ‘ his Orders, according to Her Majesty’s Commands, which had
 ‘ been signified to him on the 20th. The Secretary desires his
 ‘ Grace would observe, that this Order was *positive* ; and he was
 ‘ commanded to explain the Reasons, upon which it was founded ;
 ‘ and why no Case could possibly happen, in which Her Majesty
 ‘ would allow, that any other Measures should be taken. If my
 ‘ Lord

‘ Lord *Strafford* brought his Grace Word, That the *Dutch* did
 ‘ absolutely agree to a Suspension of Arms, then this Order was
 ‘ proper ; and *English* and *Dutch*, and all the other Allies, would
 ‘ retire together. If he brought his Grace Word, That they
 ‘ would absolutely refuse the Suspension, then this Order was ne-
 ‘ cessary ; since we were not in Circumstances to have the Law
 ‘ impos’d upon us. And lastly, If my Lord *Strafford* brought his
 ‘ Grace an Account, That the States agreed to a Cessation of Arms
 ‘ conditionally, and under Restriction, either as to Time or Man-
 ‘ ner, Her Majesty must look upon such an Agreement to be more
 ‘ dangerous, than even a Refusal ; since it could have no other
 ‘ Consequence, or Design, than to break the Queen’s Measures,
 ‘ by gaining of Time, and to make us lose the Opportunity of
 ‘ taking Possession of *Dunkirk*.’ The Secretary farther informs his
 Grace, ‘ That Mr. *Hill* was appointed to command the Troops
 ‘ that went over, and were to be in *Dunkirk* ; and that Mr. *Sweet*
 ‘ had Orders to make no further Payment to any of the foreign
 ‘ Troops, unless to such, as his Grace and my Lord *Strafford*
 ‘ should think proper, and deserving that Distinction at the Queen’s
 ‘ Hands.’

The Duke immediately dispatch’d Colonel *Lloyd* to go to *Dun-*
kirk, with the Orders, which had been sent from the *French* Court,
 for the Delivery of that Place, and gave the Colonel a Letter to
 Monsieur *Villars*, in which he acquaints the Mareschal, ‘ of the
 ‘ two Officers being sent to *Dunkirk* ; and since the Mareschal had
 ‘ not inform’d him, that the Orders for the Surrender of the Town
 ‘ were sent to *England*, he desires his *Aid de Camp* might have Li-
 ‘ berty to carry thither those, which he receiv’d from the Mareschal
 ‘ on the 7th.’

A little after the Colonel had been dispatch’d, an Express came
 from Monsieur *Villars*, with a Packet directed to the Duke, from
 the Colonels, that were arriv’d at *Dunkirk*. The Mareschal tells
 his Grace, ‘ how well satisfied he was of his Master’s Confidence
 ‘ in the Queen’s Word, and that there should not be the least De-
 ‘ lay, or Difficulty, on his Side, in surrendring the Town ; but it
 ‘ seem’d reasonable to him, that the Day, both for the Delivery of
 ‘ the Town, and the Suspension of Arms, should be agreed upon
 ‘ between them ; and he hoped, his Grace would think so too.
 ‘ He adds, That he heard the Prince and General *Dopff* had been,
 ‘ the Day before, to reconnoitre *Landrecy* ; and that his Grace
 ‘ must believe, that neither this Enterprize, nor any other, would
 ‘ be attempted, without all the Opposition it was possible for the
 ‘ King’s Troops to give them ; and he hoped, the Duke, with the
 ‘ Forces under his Command (which must, by this Time, have re-
 ‘ ceiv’d Orders from their Masters) would leave him at full Liber-
 ‘ ty to act, or rather, to speak more properly, he believ’d, the

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‘ Disturbers of the publick Quiet would not dare to trouble it any longer.’

The two Colonels, in their Letter from *Dunkirk*, acquainted the Duke, ‘ That they had waited upon the Governor, who told them, that Monsieur *Voisin* had lately inform’d him, That the King’s Orders had been sent to Marechal *Villars*, for delivering up *Dunkirk* to Her Majesty : But, as yet, those Orders were not come to his Hands ; and, until they were, he could not proceed to do any Business with the Colonels.’

In the Evening, the Duke receiv’d another Letter from the Marechal, to inform him, ‘ That no Orders, but what his Grace receiv’d, had been sent for the Delivery of *Dunkirk*, and to desire him to appoint a Day when the Place should be deliver’d up, and the Suspension of Arms declar’d ; and to tell him, that he kept Colonel *Lloyd* at his Quarters, till he had his Grace’s Answer. The Marechal says, he finds, by Letters, from Mr. *St. John*, that the Execution of both the one, and the other, entirely depends upon his Grace.’

The Foreign Generals continued, most of them, resolute not to march : The *Saxon* General seem’d undetermin’d, and said, he was in daily Expectation of Orders from his Master ; only Monsieur *Barner*, and Monsieur *Walef*, who severally commanded the *Holsteiners* and the *Liege* Dragoons, told the Duke, That such of their Troops, as were paid by the Queen, would obey the Orders he should give them.

The same Evening the Lord *Strafford* arriv’d : And as his Grace had been long impatient for his coming ; so upon discoursing with him, he wish’d his Lordship had brought those Lights, which his Grace had so much Reason to expect.

Next Morning the Duke dispatch’d an Express to Monsieur *Villars*, to let him know, the Suspension of Arms only stuck at him : ‘ That he might see, by an inclos’d Extract of a Letter from Mr. *St. John*, that it ought to follow the Declaration, the Governor of *Dunkirk* was to make, of his being ready to deliver up the Town ; and therefore desir’d, he would give Colonel *Lloyd* a Passport, to make all the Haste he could to *Dunkirk*, to see what Dispositions were making there, for the Reception of the Queen’s Troops ; and that, as soon as ever he had an Account, that the Governor was ready to surrender it, he would immediately declare a Suspension of Arms ; and the Marechal had nothing to do, but to name the Day, and inform him of it. His Grace adds, ‘ That my Lord *Strafford* arriv’d the Night before, and gave him Hopes, that Things were now in a fair Way of being adjusted, for the Good of the common Cause.’

On the 14th of *July*, the Duke receiv’d an Account from Monsieur *Villars*, ‘ That he had sent Colonel *Lloyd* forwards to *Dunkirk*,

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‘ *kirk*, with all the necessary Orders for its Surrender, and that his
‘ Grace might reckon upon it as a Thing done. He tells the
‘ Duke, That as it was a great Advantage to them, not to be
‘ oblig’d to fight against the bravest and the boldest of their Ene-
‘ mies, so it was of Importance to them, to know the Number of
‘ Enemies they had left; and therefore he desired to know from
‘ his Grace, what Troops, and what Generals would obey his Or-
‘ ders; because, the first Attempt the Enemy made, he would not
‘ lose one Moment to meet them: That the King had given him
‘ Liberty to fight, of which nothing but the Negotiations of Peace
‘ had hitherto depriv’d him, and of which his Army was eager to
‘ take the Advantage: That he believ’d, every thing would be
‘ concluded, if the Troops under his Grace’s Command would
‘ follow his Orders. He desir’d, his Grace would not think it an
‘ indiscreet Curiosity, that he beg’d some Light might be given him
‘ in this Affair.

In the mean Time Prince *Eugene* sent the Duke Word, by an
Aid de Camp, that he intended to march on the 16th. The next
Morning, the Duke sent to let the Prince know, he was sur-
priz’d at his Message, there having not been the least previous Con-
cert with him, nor any mention made, which Way, or on what
Design he was to march; and, therefore, he could not resolve
to march with him; much less could the Prince expect any Assi-
stance from the Queen’s Army, in any Design thus undertaken:
That he thought fit to acquaint him of this beforehand, that he
might take his Measures accordingly, and not attribute to his Grace
any Misfortune, which might happen to him. The Duke likewise
let him know, that when he march’d, he himself should be oblig’d
to take the best Care he could for the Security of the Queen’s
Troops, and to change his Camp, in order to it.

The same Morning the Duke sent to Monsieur *Villars*, to ac-
quaint him, ‘ That, at present, ’twas impossible for him to re-
‘ solve his Question; but the next Day, he believ’d, he could
‘ give a satisfactory Answer: That, as to the Suspension, he only
‘ waited for an Account from *Dunkirk*; but that, on his Side, it
‘ had its Effect already, since he had told the Prince and the De-
‘ puties, that, if they went upon any new Attempt, he could
‘ give them no Manner of Assistance with the Army of the
‘ Queen.’

At Noon, Colonel *Lloyd* arriv’d from *Dunkirk*, with an Ac-
count, That the Governour was ready, in Obedience to the King’s
Orders, to concert Measures with the Officers sent thither for that
Purpose, in order to evacuate the Place, and receive Her Majesty’s
Troops. The Colonel brought a Letter at the same Time from
Monsieur *Villars*, in which the Marechal tells the Duke, ‘ That
‘ since every thing was ready for the Surrender of *Dunkirk*, the
‘ King

' King had commanded him to declare a Suspension of Arms on
 ' the 18th, believing, the Town would be evacuated by that
 ' Time ; and, if his Grace thought fit, he might declare it on the
 ' same Day : That he had Advice, Prince *Eugene* was to march
 ' To-morrow ; and his Grace would see, that, if the Attempt
 ' was upon *Landrecy*, his Army would be in the Mareschal's Way,
 ' when he march'd towards that Place : he calls this a Conjunction
 ' *bien vive* ; and he thinks, he says, the *Dutch* Army very bold,
 ' if they should dare to despise the Alliance and Kindness of the
 ' Queen ; and the Imperialists very ungrateful, for the great Affi-
 ' stance and Advantages they have had from *England*. He repeats
 ' again his Desires to know, what Troops would stay with his
 ' Grace, tho' he had the Satisfaction to find, that they were eas'd
 ' of their dangerous Enemies, since the brave *English* were no lon-
 ' ger so.'

On the 16th, Prince *Eugene*, according to the Resolution he
 had taken, march'd ; and all the Foreign Troops in the Queen's
 Pay, except the *Holsteiners* and *Wallef's* Dragoons, march'd with
 him. The Generals of those Troops came to take leave of the
 Duke with great Civility ; express'd much Concern for the Separation,
 and hop'd, some happy Conjunction would soon unite them
 again. The Duke had not seen the Deputies for some Time ; and
 the Prince had not been with him in a Fortnight. The Auxiliaries,
 that join'd the Prince, were posted between the *English* Horse and
 Foot ; which were now left at a great Distance from each other ;
 and under this ill Situation might, in a few Hours, have been fallen
 upon with Success, had the Mareschal thought fit to make use of
 the Advantage, which the Prince's March put into his Hands. In
 the mean Time, the Prince's Army, even when separated from
 the *English*, was still numerous enough, to be under no Apprehen-
 sions from the *French*.

The Duke immediately sent an Account of Prince *Eugene's*
 March, and of the Troops, which went with him, to Monsieur
Villars, telling him, ' That hitherto he had been in doubt, what
 ' Course the Generals of the Foreign Troops would take, since
 ' there was Room to believe, that some of them had Orders to act,
 ' more conformably to the Stipulations made with their Masters :
 ' That, to shew our Sincerity, he had made a Proposal to take
 ' some Battalions and Squadrons, which were in the Joint-Pay,
 ' into the Sole Pay of the Queen : That he must put him again in
 ' Mind, that the Suspension of Arms, on his Side, had its Effect,
 ' by the Separation he had made of the Queen's Troops, with all
 ' the Artillery, from those of Prince *Eugene*, and by his Declara-
 ' tion of not giving them any Assistance. Besides which, the Pay-
 ' ment of the Foreign Troops was stopt, and consequently all the
 ' Burthen of the War would lie upon the *Dutch*, which they
 ' would

‘ would not long be able to support : That he should make a Movement the next Day, and should be ready to declare the Suspension, at the Time he had mentioned.

Monfieur *Villars* return’d an Answer to this immediately, and desir’d to know of the Duke, ‘ What Way he design’d to march, ‘ and for that Reason he would stay another Day in his Camp : ‘ That he look’d upon his Grace now, as no longer an Enemy ; ‘ and, therefore, that his Grace might encamp, if he thought it ‘ proper, in any of the King’s Territories ; the *Dutch* being in ‘ Possession of most of the Towns in *Flanders*, which they never ‘ would have been, had the Generals, which preceded his Grace, ‘ had a greater Regard to the Interests of their Queen and Country. He added, ‘ That in this critical Juncture, he thought it would ‘ be highly expedient, that he might confer with his Grace and my ‘ Lord *Strafford*, and propos’d an Interview between his Camp, ‘ and *Cateau Cambresis*.’

The Duke receiv’d another Letter this Day, much to the same Purpose ; besides which, the Marechal acquaints him, ‘ That, ‘ since his Grace judg’d it proper, he would, To-morrow, declare the Suspension of Arms through all his Army ; supposing, ‘ that his Grace would do the same through his : That he thought ‘ this Declaration by Sound of Trumpet would be sufficient, without Exchange of Trumpets ; however, if his Grace lik’d the ‘ latter Method better, he was ready to comply with it.’

The Duke, being willing to lose no Time, and judging it best for the Security of his Troops, march’d on the 17th ; and the Route he gave out he wou’d take, was to *Warneton*, on the *Lys*, where they might subsist equally on the Chatellanies of *Lisle* and *Ipres*. While the Army halted, he, according to his Instructions, order’d the Cessation of Arms to be declar’d, and, in the Evening, an Express brought an Account from the *French* Camp, that the like was done there.

The same Day he sent a Letter to the Marechal, to acquaint him ‘ Of his Design of marching to some Place between *Lisle* and ‘ *Ipres*, and of the great Satisfaction, he should have in an Interview ‘ with him ; but, that at present he thought it would make a ‘ great deal of Noise, and give but too much Colour to those, who ‘ had now none at all, to justify their Conduct.’ The Duke further inform’d him of his sending Word to the Foreign Generals, that he had declar’d a Cessation of Arms ; and, that if they would make any Use of it, they had nothing to do, but to rejoin him.

At Night, the Duke gave an Account of all these Proceedings to the Secretary, ‘ And desir’d to have the Queen’s positive Orders, how he was to dispose of his small Body of Troops, and of ‘ the Artillery : Whether he should go towards *Dunkirk*, or *Ghent* ; ‘ if to the former, what was to be done with the Artillery, Stores, &c.

‘ &c. and with the Troops in the latter, which were a Battalion
 ‘ in the Town, and five hundred detach’d Men in the Citadel.
 ‘ The Duke left it to him to consider, in what Manner we should
 ‘ be look’d upon there, if any Misfortune should happen to the
 ‘ Allies, after our separating from them: And that he might judge
 ‘ of the Inclinations of the City of *Ghent*, by the Grand Bailiff’s
 ‘ sending to Prince *Eugene*, to know, how he should govern himself
 ‘ in this difficult Conjunction. That he heard the like from other
 ‘ Places, and submitted it to the Queen, whether it might not be
 ‘ proper, to put some more Troops into *Dunkirk*; since ’twas the
 ‘ common Report, that no more than four Battalions were sent
 ‘ from *England*. His Grace could not but take Notice to the Se-
 ‘ cretary, that he was very much surpriz’d to find, by his Discourse
 ‘ with my Lord *Strafford*, that the Report of his having shewn
 ‘ to Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies, his Orders to undertake no-
 ‘ thing, had gain’d Belief in *England*: That, if he pleas’d to cast
 ‘ his Eye upon his Letters, of the 28th and 29th of *May*, and
 ‘ 4th of *June*, he would see the whole of what his Grace had said
 ‘ on that Occasion; and therefore hop’d, he would do him the
 ‘ Justice to represent this in such a Manner to the Queen, that a
 ‘ Story so groundless might make no Impression on Her Majesty,
 ‘ to whose Commands he should ever pay the exactest Obedience.
 ‘ Another Thing the Duke could not but observe to him, That
 ‘ the Conduct of the Foreign Generals was exactly answerable to
 ‘ what he foresaw long before, as the Secretary might find, it was
 ‘ publickly talk’d of in the Camp, before he had intimated it to
 ‘ Monsieur *Villars*; and, as he knew, the Marechal had too
 ‘ good Intelligence to be ignorant of it, he thought it most agreeable
 ‘ to the Confidence recommended to them, not to conceal from
 ‘ him, what he must have known from other Hands.

Upon the March we made the 18th, my Lord *Strafford*, and
 some of our Officers, being desirous to pass thro’ *Bouchain*, were
 told at the Gates, that the Commandant had positive Orders to let
 no *Englishman* into the Town: And the Commandant, being sent
 to, confirm’d it, and deny’d them Admittance. When we came
 near *Douay*, the same Thing happen’d there, with a little more
 Aggravation, though the Queen had large Stores, and a Hospital
 there; nay, it was with great Difficulty the Commandant could be
 prevail’d upon, to let the Corps of Colonel *Haro* in, to be buried.
 Upon this the Duke (since the Queen had left it to him, to act, in
 the present Circumstances, as he should think it most convenient,
 and most safe) thought it was Time to provide, as well for the Se-
 curity of the Troops he had with him, as of those in the Town
 and Citadel of *Ghent*, where we had likewise our Artillery Stores;
 and therefore he alter’d his Rout, and march’d towards that
 Place.

This

This gave such an Alarm to Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies, that they thought fit, on the 19th, to send Count *Nassau* to the Duke, with a Memorial, *not Sign'd*, ' To represent to him, in the
 ' most convincing Manner, that, after the Excuses made by the
 ' Lord *Albermale*, the Day before, at *Bouchain*, they were extremely
 ' dissatisfy'd, to hear, by the publick Report, that the Commandant
 ' of *Douay* had likewise refus'd to admit some of the *English* Officers, and to let out the Undertakers for the Queen's Magazines.
 ' That they were very much mortify'd at the extraordinary Conduct of those two Commandants; and assur'd his Grace, they had
 ' absolutely no Orders for so doing, directly or indirectly; and that
 ' they, the Deputies, not only disavow'd their Proceedings, but
 ' would give them such a Reprimand, as they deserv'd: That they
 ' were assur'd, my Lord Duke was satisfy'd with the Declaration made by the Lord *Albemarle*; but, however, as the World might
 ' be inclin'd to interpret these Accidents to their Disadvantage, the Deputies thought fit to renew their Protestations, by Count *Nassau*, that they were so far from giving any Hindrance to the
 ' March of the *English* Troops, that they have done, and always
 ' will do, every Thing that lies in their Power to facilitate it, as well as what regards the Subsistence of those Forces: That therefore they assure and promise his Grace, that there should be full
 ' Liberty given him, to have his Bread from those Towns, where the Magazines were: That, as soon as his Grace had march'd,
 ' they sent Orders to all the Magistrates of the *Chatellenies*, to deliver out Forage in the Place, where he should encamp: That,
 ' as soon as ever they heard of the Inconvenience which had happen'd at *Bouchain*, they gave Orders, by the Lord *Albemarle*, to
 ' all the Places upon the *Lys* and the *Scheld*, to prevent the like for the future; and that, after having heard of what pass'd at *Douay*,
 ' they had sent Directions for the Magazines, Baggage, &c. to have the Liberty of following the Army: That all these are incontestable Proofs, that they have omitted nothing which might be of
 ' any Assistance to him: That they should always continue in the same Opinion; and they hop'd, that those Accidents would not
 ' be imputed to them, which they had no Share in, but happen'd rather by Chance, and through the Fault of the Commandants;
 ' and that no ill Interpretations should be suffer'd to be made, to exasperate the Spirits of both Nations, which was the only Thing
 ' in the World they labour'd to prevent. That tho' his Grace had made no Complaint of this Matter, they would not lose one Moment to represent to him the Truth of it; and so prevent any
 ' Dissatisfaction it might create, before he had a true State of the Case.

As soon as Count *Nassau* was gone, Count *Hompesch*, Governor of *Douay* came, and assur'd the Duke, that the Commandant of that Place had no Orders from him, to refuse our Officers Admittance into the Town. He examin'd those Officers, about the Circumstances of the Fact: The Count march'd with us the next Day to *Flerival*, and had by that Means an Opportunity to see, what we were doing, and to frame some Conjecture of our future Designs.

The Duke, notwithstanding all the Apologies and Excuses, which had been made to him, could not believe, the Commandants would have dar'd to make such a Step, unless they had express Orders for it. He was the more perswaded of this, because, when the Deputies first heard of his Design to withdraw the Queen's Troops, they could not forbear saying, that they hop'd he did not intend to march thro' any of their Towns; and there was little Room to doubt, whether those Orders were general, since, after the presenting this Memorial, the same Difficulties happen'd at *Tournay*, *Audenard*, and *Lisle*, as had at *Bouchain*, and *Douay*. The Usage Captain *Hart* met with, was very extraordinary, and must not be omitted: He was sent Express to *England* by the Duke, on the 17th; when he came to *Hasppe*, the *Imperialists* would not let him thro'; 'twas Night, they told him, and they could not examine him then: Upon which he was forc'd to return, and set out again next Morning. At *Courtray*, he took a Guide to conduct him to *Bruges*, and, when he thought he was at the Gates of that City, he found himself at *Petteghem*, which was eight Leagues out of the Way: And the Guide confess'd, he had done this by his Master's Order. At *Bruges*, after he had waited two Hours at the Gate, the Burgomaster sent him Word, he would not admit him; at last the Gate was open'd, but the Burgomaster took Care to trifle away two or three Hours, before the Captain could get any Horses.

The Duke's Design was to pass the *Lys*, and post himself before the Canal of *Bruges*: A Letter he had receiv'd the Day before, from the Secretary, renew'd the Queen's Directions to him, to act as he should judge most proper, and this seem'd to be the most convenient Situation for him, to receive and execute such further Orders, as Her Majesty should think fit to give him, as well in Regard to other Points relating to Her Service, as to the City of *Bruges*, where some Things had lately pass'd, very little consistent with the Respect they ow'd to the Queen. For some of the Magistrates had apply'd to the Council of State, and desir'd they would put them in a Condition, to secure themselves against their *Enemies*, the *English*. The Council referr'd the Matter to Prince *Eugene*, and he writ them a Letter on the 12th from *Hasppe*, that he had already

ready been considering, how he might put a sufficient Garrison into that Place. Some Deputies from *Ghent* had been with the Council of State upon the same Errand, and they were sent back, as well as those of *Bruges*, with strict Orders to be upon their Guard. At the same Time, the Duke was inform'd, that a Battalion of *Métal*, which were *Swiss*, had lately been sent from *Bouchain* to *Ghent*; and that the *Dutch* so far resented the Conduct of Messieurs *Barner* and *Walef*, who march'd with him, that they turn'd them out of their Posts of Major-Generals. Before the Duke left this Camp, Colonel *King* brought him the News, that the Queen's Troops were entirely in Possession of *Dunkirk*, and the Forts belonging to it.

On the 23d, the Duke went to *Ghent*, and had all the Civilities paid him, which could be expected from the Magistrates; and on the 25th he encamp'd, with the Right on the Canal of *Bruges*, and the Left upon the *Lys*, within half a League of *Ghent*; by which he secur'd to himself that City, and was at Hand to throw some Troops into *Bruges*, and to send such a Reinforcement, as should be thought necessary for *Dunkirk*. Brigadier *Sutton*, who went to *Bruges*, sent the Duke an Account, how well-dispos'd he found the Chief Magistrates of that Town, to do any Thing his Grace should desire, and that they would make no Difficulty of allowing a free Passage to any of our Troops thro' the Town, or receiving what Garrison he should think proper to send them.

On the 26th his Grace receiv'd, by an Express, from my Lord *Belingbroke*, Secretary of State, a Letter of the 11th of *July*. My Lord tells him, 'That he is particularly directed by the Queen, to begin his Dispatch by acquainting his Grace, that no Service could be more agreeable to Her, than that, which he has done Her, and his Country, in this nice Conjunction of Affairs. That She thanks him for it, and that She will never forget the exact Obedience, which he had paid to Her Orders, nor the admirable Patience and Temper, which he had shewn in so uneasy a Situation. That the Answer his Grace had sent to Prince *Eugene* on the 17th, was exactly as the Queen would have wish'd it; and her Majesty thought, nothing could set the unjustifiable Proceedings of the Allies in a stronger Light. That it had been Matter of the utmost Concern to the Queen, to observe the Imperialists, and the States resolv'd upon such Extremities. She had long courted them to come into more reasonable Measures; and there was no Room to doubt, but they might, by reviving the Conferences at *Utrecht*, and consenting to a Cessation, whilst *Dunkirk* was in our Hands, obtain for the whole Confederacy ample Satisfaction in all their Pretensions: But since their Fate hung upon them, and they would venture all to force the

‘ Queen, rather than secure all by complying with Her, let
 ‘ the Consequences be what they will, the Blame could never
 ‘ be laid upon Her. Her Majesty would support what She had un-
 ‘ dertaken; and he prays God, they do not find Reason to repent
 ‘ their rash Counsels, and inflexible Obstinacy. That the Queen
 ‘ had consider’d, what his Grace had propos’d concerning the Re-
 ‘ treat, which he should make with the small Body of Troops,
 ‘ now remaining under his Command: And She thought it for
 ‘ many Reasons most advisable, that his Grace should march to
 ‘ *Dunkirk*, unless some Objection, unforeseen in *England*, might
 ‘ arise. There his Grace might continue for some Time, and,
 ‘ as soon as they had Notice of his bending that Way, Measures
 ‘ would be taken for supporting him there, and for supplying
 ‘ whatever the Troops might have occasion for. The present
 ‘ Garrison in the Town, Citadel and Forts of *Dunkirk*, was cer-
 ‘ tainly too weak; and besides, they should have occasion to with-
 ‘ draw the *Marines*, who made a third Part of the Number of
 ‘ Men, who went with Mr. *Hill*. ’Twas likewise necessary, the
 ‘ Queen should have at that Place an Artillery of Her own,
 ‘ with Stores, Gunners, &c. These Ends would be all much
 ‘ better, much sooner, and much cheaper answer’d, by his
 ‘ Grace’s moving to *Dunkirk*, than any other Way; and there-
 ‘ fore he would please to lose no Time in putting this in Execution,
 ‘ unless, as was said above, some Objection appear’d to his Grace,
 ‘ which they were not appriz’d of. A Detachment of the Queen’s
 ‘ Forces being still in *Ghent*, together with a Quantity of Stores,
 ‘ Her Majesty would have his Grace withdraw both the one and the
 ‘ other from thence; and he would please to secure, in the first
 ‘ Place, that Point. Her Majesty did not perceive any great Dif-
 ‘ ficulty at present in it: Time might perhaps produce some; and,
 ‘ in our Circumstances, as little as possible should be left to hazard,
 ‘ His Grace, at the same Time he resolv’d to march to *Dunkirk*,
 ‘ was to communicate his Design to Monsieur *Villars*, to concert
 ‘ with him whatever might be necessary, either for the Ease of the
 ‘ Country, or in other Respects; and to promise him, in Her Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Name, full Satisfaction, for whatever the Queen’s Forces
 ‘ should take of the Subjects of *France*. In his, [the Secretary’s]
 ‘ Dispatch to Monsieur *Torcy*, this Particular would be mention’d,
 ‘ His Grace need be under no Sort of Concern about the foolish
 ‘ Lye, which the *Dutch* broach’d, and which their Emissaries a-
 ‘ broad, and their Allies there, affected to disperse. The Queen
 ‘ commanded him to say, She never depended on any Relations of
 ‘ his Grace’s Conduct, but his own; and, that She desir’d, he
 ‘ would be persuaded, this Story gain’d no Belief with Her.
 ‘ That Care would be taken to answer all such Pay, as he
 ‘ should have been pleas’d to order; and Her Majesty would
 ‘ have

‘ have his Grace take Notice to *Walef*, how well fatisfy’d She was
 ‘ with his Behaviour, and assure him, in all Events, of Her Pro-
 ‘ tection.’

This Morning an Account came from *Brussels*, of the entire
 Defeat of that Body of Troops, commanded by the Lord *Albemarle*
 at *Denain*.

These Circumstances, and the discretionary Power, which the
 Queen was pleas’d to entrust the Duke with, made him defer the
 Proceeding any further in the Execution of Her Majesty’s last Or-
 ders, till he should know, whether they thought fit to take any
 new Resolutions thereupon; and he was of Opinion, there were
 possibly some Points, which might deserve to be consider’d. For
 if we had entirely evacuated *Ghent*, there were then two *Dutch*
 Battalions there, which ’tis natural to believe, would have imme-
 diately possess’d themselves both of the Town and Citadel; and
 the Duke doubted, whether this was agreeable to Her Ma-
 jesty’s Intentions. If the Queen resolv’d to keep a Footing in this
 Country, his Opinion was, that, when a competent Number of
 Battalions was sent to *Dunkirk*, four might be put into *Bruges*,
 and the rest into *Ghent*, in both which Places there would be some
 Artillery, and the Horse might be posted behind the Canal of
Bruges.

The next Day a Trumpet came from Monsieur *Villars*: The
 Marechal in his Letter tells the Duke, ‘ That the Enemy had
 ‘ been made sensible, that the Departure of the brave *English* was
 ‘ not at all happy for them; since the Queen’s Troops no sooner
 ‘ left the Allies, than the Misfortune happen’d to them, which his
 ‘ Grace would read in the enclos’d: containing a particular Ac-
 ‘ count of the Defeat of the Lord *Albemarle*’s Troops, and of his
 ‘ being taken Prisoner at *Denain*.’

The Lord *Albemarle* himself, wrote to the Duke on this Occa-
 sion, *July* the 29th, desiring his Grace’s good Offices, that, by
 the Means of them, he might be excus’d from being carried into
France, and might, either be exchange’d for one of the *French*
 Generals in *England*, or permitted to go with his Family to *Worff*,
 or *Aix la Chapelle*.

The Duke wrote, the next Day, to Monsieur *Villars*, and
 recommended the Lord *Albemarle* to him; and again, in his Let-
 ter of the 4th: wherein also he thanks him, for the Orders he
 had sent to the *French* Intendants, to facilitate the March of our
 Troops to *Dunkirk*.

Count *d’Urfe* had been at *Ghent*, to wait upon the Duke
 from the Council of State, and, by Virtue of his Commission,
 solicited the sparing of the Country, as much as might be. The
 Duke, tho’ he was persuaded, that it would be as agreeable to
 the Queen’s Intentions, as to his own Inclinations, to make the

Burthen as light as possible, to a People, who had, of late, suffered so much: Yet thought it a Piece of Justice due to Her Majesty's Troops, when the Country propos'd to deliver the Forage, to insist on the same Quantity, proportionable to the Number of Troops, as was furnish'd in the late King's Time, when Prince *Vaudemont* commanded: Especially, since this Charge would soon diminish, by his sending six Battalions to *Dunkirk*, and four or five to *Bruges*.

The next Day a Messenger arriv'd from the Lord *Bolingbroke*: In this Letter of *July* the 18th, his Lordship inform'd the Duke, ' That, by Her Majesty's Command, he had express'd to him, ' as well as he could, in his Letter of the 11th, Her entire Approbation of his Grace's Conduct, in every Thing he had then ' done: He was now directed to acquaint him, That She was ' equally satisfy'd with the Measures he had since taken, and to ' repeat Her Thanks to him, in Terms suitable to the Service, he ' had perform'd; but they would be such, as, he confess'd, he ' was at a Loss to find. He was particularly commanded to say, ' That, tho' the Orders, which he transmitted to his Grace in ' his last, did appear to Her Majesty, at that Time, to be the ' most proper that could be given him; the Methods he had pursu'd, were so rightly judg'd, and so well adapted to the present ' Conjunction of Affairs, that they answer'd in every Point, what ' She would have wish'd. He was further to say, That She was ' unwilling to restrain his Grace by particular and positive Instructions, who made Use of the discretionary Power given him, so ' much to her Honour, and the Good of Her Service. The News ' of *Dunkirk's* being in our Hands, could not have been follow'd ' by any more agreeable, than that of his Grace's having directed ' his March towards *Ghent*: As by the Possession of the former ' Place, we should Treat with the *French* under great Advantage; ' so by the Steps, which he had taken for securing the latter, the ' *Dutch* and *Imperialists* would be brought to a more decent Way ' of Behaviour to the Queen, than they had hitherto been in. Her ' Majesty recommended to her Grace, in general, the securing to ' himself the Possession of *Ghent*, as long as might be thought necessary; as also the reinforcing the Garrison of *Dunkirk*, and ' the furnishing that Place with what Stores he might have to spare, ' and which the Garrison might be in want of. The Secretary ' likewise acquainted his Grace, of a Letter the Marquis of *Torcy* ' had dispatch'd to him, upon receiving the News of the Earl of ' *Albemarle's* Defeat at *Denain*: In which the *French* Minister took ' Notice of the Advantage, which Her Majesty had at this Time ' over the *Dutch*; and insinuated, That She might give the Law ' to those People, provided She made the right Use of *Ghent* and ' *Bruges*,

‘ *Bruges*, which his Grace was in Possession of.’ The Secretary’s Answer to that Part of the Marquis’s Letter, by Her Majesty’s Command, was no more than this : ‘ That the Queen would take all the Measures, that were consistent with Justice, and with Honour, to overcome the Obstinacy of Her Allies, and to oblige them to consent to a general Peace ; and that already he had writ to his Grace to be upon his Guard, and to secure the Possession of the Posts, he was now Matter of. His Grace would easily perceive the Drift of Monsieur *Torcy*’s Proposition, and the Meaning of his Answer. It was the Interest of the *French*, and there were, perhaps, some of Her Majesty’s Subjects so unhappy, as to think it theirs too, that the Queen should join Her Forces with those of *France*, and in that Manner give the Law to the Confederates ; but Her Majesty’s Conduct would continue to the last, what it had been from the first, equally Just, and equally Firm to all Parties, towards Friends, as well as Enemies. She could not think of co-operating with the latter, to distress the former, how great soever the Provocation She had receiv’d from these, might have been ; and She was willing to hope, that, at last, they would see their Error, and concur with Her Majesty, from whom they could never separate, but to their own Disadvantage.’

The Duke return’d an Answer to the Secretary on the 4th, and assur’d him, ‘ That nothing could be more acceptable to him, than the Account his Lordship gave him of the Queen’s Approbation of his past Conduct ; future Obedience was the best Return he could make, which should be constantly paid to Her Majesty’s Commands, with all the Exactness in his Power. He acquainted his Lordship of the six Battalions he had order’d for Mr. *Hill*, with the Artillery most proper for his Use, and Stores proportionable, which were to begin their March the next Morning ; and that this Day he had sent Brigadier *Sutton*, with four Battalions to *Bruges* ; which last Affair he had not concerted with the Council of State, not thinking such a Step consistent with the Queen’s Honour, considering the Usage we had of late met with in this Country. These ten Battalions being thus dispos’d of, the Duke did not conceive it could be for Her Majesty’s Service, that he should keep the Field any longer, with the small Corps that would remain : So that he intended to go, with the rest of the Foot, into *Ghent*, and to post the Horse on the other Side of the Canal. He return’d his Thanks to his Lordship, for what he had communicated to him of Monsieur *Torcy*’s Letter ; Monsieur *Villars*, he said, had writ to him much in the same Strain : His Lordship’s Answer was agreeable to the Justice and Honour, which had hitherto been the Rules by which the Queen had proceeded, and when rightly understood, might possibly prove a
‘ more

‘ more powerful Argument, than any which had yet been us’d, to induce the Confederates to concur with Her Majesty, in the Measures she was taking for their Good.’

The next Day, the Duke receiv’d another Letter from his Lordship, of *July* the 22d, to tell him, ‘ That the Situation he was now in, answer’d, in every Respect, Her Majesty’s Views. The keeping his Hold of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, at the same Time it secures the Queen’s Troops from any Insult, and Her Stores from Embezzlement, would have a due Effect on the Conduct of Her Allies : And the Communication, which he preserv’d with *Dunkirk*, would enable him to put that Garrison into a Condition of fearing no Disorder from within, nor Attempt from without. His Grace might therefore be assur’d, that the Queen had no Thoughts of his pursuing Orders, which were given on a Supposition, that he might have no Party left to take, but that of retreating towards the Sea. His Conduct had improv’d Her Views ; and Her Majesty thought of nothing else now, but securing *Ghent*, *Bruges*, and *Dunkirk*, which his Grace would please to do in the best Manner, which his Strength, and the Circumstances he was in, would allow of. His Lordship adds, That he might depend upon it, that the Encouragement, which he gave to the *Holsteiners*, and to *Wales’s* Dragoons, should be made good to them.’

The same Day Mr. *Sutton*, with the four Battalions, was receiv’d into *Bruges*, to the great Satisfaction of the Inhabitants, who were in Hopes, that the Queen’s Protection would preserve them from another Yoke they apprehended, and deliver them from the Oppression they had lain under, for some Years past, by their giving Winter Quarters to the *Danes*.

On the 17th, a Trumpet came from Monsieur *Villars* ; the Occasion of sending him was, the Mareschal said, that he found, by the Discourse of the principal Officers, who had been taken Prisoners in the last Action, ‘ That, in *Holland*, they talk’d in a very sanguine Manner, of a Revolution ready to happen in *England*, by a design’d *Attentat* : That the Animosity among the Confederates, was as great against *England*, as against *France* ; and that he thought himself oblig’d to send this Advice, however general, or of how little Consequence soever it might be.’ In a Letter afterwards, of *September* the 12th, the Mareschal repeated the same Intelligence ; adding, ‘ That Mr. *Hompesch*, one of the best reputed Generals among the Allies, had said, That, in *Holland*, they look’d upon this Revolution as certain.’ And the Mareschal was pleas’d further to say, though without letting the Duke into the Grounds of his Opinion, ‘ That there was no good *Frenchman* but ought to dread it.’

Tho’

Tho' the Duke thought, the Subject of these Letters did not require any great Attention, being rather a Strain of fallacious Reasoning, by which our Neighbours had lately been misled, than agreeable to the least Appearance, either of Truth or Probability; yet, to shew he neglected nothing, which could possibly be for Her Majesty's Interest, he sent a Copy of them, by a Messenger, to the Secretary. The Duke inclos'd an Account, how he had expostulated with Monsieur *Bulou*, upon a certain Information he had, that several Deserters from the Queen's Service, were entertain'd among the Troops of that General; and, he hop'd, Her Majesty would please to approve of what he had writ. As to what pass'd in the Confederate Camp, the Duke could give the Secretary no Light into it, there being then no Correspondence between his Grace and the Foreign Generals; and Prince *Eugene* having thought fit, expressly to forbid the Director of the Posts sending his Grace the least Intelligence of what pass'd in his Army.

The Duke's Conduct, in possessing himself of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, was so agreeable to Her Majesty, and thought to be so important a Service, that he receiv'd a Compliment upon it, from the Lord Treasurer, in these Words.

August 5. 1712.

MY LORD,

NO Pen, nor Tongue, is able to express the great Pleasure I took, in your Grace's Successes; it was a very great Satisfaction, to see so much done for the Public; to see such an Example of steady Conduct, in so great a Nobleman, and so courageous a Heart, is what has made you envy'd by some, dreaded by your Enemies, and applauded by all Men of Knowledge and Understanding. Your Grace's March to *Ghent*, &c. is a *Coup de Maitre*; it is own'd to be so in *France* and *Holland*; And, I must own, I take a double Pleasure in it, because it is done by the Duke of *Ormonde*, to whose Person I have so entire a Friendship, and in whose Success I take so particular an Interest. Monsieur *Torcy* wrote a very just Compliment on the Affair of *Denain*, that the Allies might now see, what they had lost by Her Majesty's withdrawing Her Forces, and what Value they ought to put upon a Nation, which every where lead Victory with it. I am, with the utmost Respect and Attachment, &c.

OXFORD.

The 3d of September, the Duke receiv'd a Letter from my Lord *Bolingbroke*, dated August the 31st, at *Dunkirk*, to this Effect;
 ' That the perpetual and inconceivable Hurry and Ceremony,
 G which

‘ which he had been in the three Weeks past, must excuse him, if
 ‘ he had not paid his Duty to his Grace, as he ought to have done :
 ‘ That he took it for granted, his Grace had receiv’d, from *White-*
 ‘ *hall*, an Account of the Suspension of Arms, by Sea and Land,
 ‘ which he concluded at *Fountainbleau*, and Her Majesty’s Orders
 ‘ thereupon. He had only to add, That he hop’d, a Peace would
 ‘ intervene before the Expiration of four Months : That the Place
 ‘ he wrote from, we were perfectly Masters of ; and it was, for
 ‘ many Reasons, absolutely necessary, that we should continue so
 ‘ of *Ghent* and *Bruges*. He ask’d Pardon for saying so much to
 ‘ his Grace, who could not but see, better than he did, the Con-
 ‘ sequence of his own Acquisition.’

On the 9th, the Duke acquainted the Lord *Bolingbroke*, by Ex-
 press, ‘ That he needed no other Argument to induce him, to do
 ‘ all that lay in his Power towards the keeping *Ghent* and *Bruges*,
 ‘ after knowing, it was Her Majesty’s Pleasure, and for Her Inte-
 ‘ rest, he should do so.’

The Duke, at the same Time, gave his Lordship an Account of
 a Conversation he had, on the 7th, with Monsieur *Vogelin*, who
 was sent, by his Colleagues, the States Deputies, to sound his
 Grace, upon several Points, relating to these Places. He ask’d
 first, Whether the *English* Troops were to stay at *Ghent* and *Br-*
uges the Winter, or how long ? To which the Duke answer’d, He
 could not tell, but saw no Appearance of their being withdrawn,
 as yet.

He ask’d next, Whether the Duke would consent to the States
 putting some of their Troops into *Ghent*, to take Care of their Con-
 voys, and *escort* them to their Frontier Garrisons ? In Answer to
 which, the Duke told him, He thought himself oblig’d not to suf-
 fer any Troops, but those of the Queen, to come into that Town :
 However, he had no Intention, by taking or keeping Possession of
 that Place, to obstruct their Convoys ; the *Dutch* Troops might
 still come to the Counterscarp of the Town, and receive what-
 ever was to be carry’d to the Camp, as had been practis’d ever
 since *Ghent* was in our Hands. The Duke might have added,
 (would he have enter’d, at that Time, into Reasonings of this
 Kind) That the securing this Town in *English* Hands, was far from
 being a just Ground of Uneasiness to the States ; on the contrary,
 their Safety depended upon it : Since, if the Duke had not first
 taken Possession of *Ghent*, the *French* would certainly have made
 themselves Masters of it, after the Defeat at *Denain* ; and conse-
 quently, having the entire Command of the *Scheldt* and the *Lys*,
 would have starv’d the Confederate Camp, by intercepting all the
 Convoys from *Holland*.

The Deputies next Question was, Whether the Duke would let
 Part of the *Danish* Troops take their Winter Quarters in *Bruges*,

as they had done, ever since the Reduction of that Place? To which the Duke answer'd, That he could not admit of any Troops whatever, besides those of the Queen, either into *Ghent* or *Bruges*, till he had Her Majesty's Orders for it.

He ask'd then, if the Duke did not think of providing Winter-Forage for the Troops, and taking that Charge off the Country? The Duke told him, He would take Care the Queen's Troops should not want Forage, and that due Regard should be had to the Preservation and Good of the Country; which might, in some Measure, appear, by the Regulation of Forage furnish'd at present to the *English* Troops, which was considerably less in Proportion, than it was the last War, when Prince *Vaudemont* had thirty five thousand Men in this Neighbourhood, and the *French* were possess'd of a good Part of the Country, which now contributed: And the first Charge had been greatly lessen'd, by the Regiments sent to *Dunkirk*, and the Discharge of all the Artillery-Horses, and all the Bread-Waggons, except thirty.

This was the Subject of the Conversation, the Duke had with Monsieur *Vegelin*, and which he thought fit to transmit to the Secretary. If it should give the Queen an 'Occasion of sending 'any new Orders, he was ready to execute them with the same 'Exactness, which he had hitherto paid to all Her Majesty's Com- 'mands. What he had more to add was, To renew his Desire 'of knowing the Queen's Pleasure, upon what he had formerly 'writ to his Lordship, about making Provision for Winter-Forage, it being now high Time to contract with the Undertakers: 'And, when Her Majesty would be pleas'd to order the Troops 'to come into Garrison, the Duke humbly offer'd his Opinion, 'That the five Regiments of Dragoons might be sent to *Bruges*, 'and all the Horse, with the Remainder of the Foot, put into '*Ghent*.'

My Lord *Balingbrake* in his Letter of *Sept. 9.* acquaints the Duke, 'That he had laid these Things before the Queen, who 'thought the Answer his Grace gave to Mr. *Vegelin's* Questions 'were very proper, and that the Deputy might have sav'd him- 'self the Trouble of undertaking a Journey, on purpose to ask 'them. Her Majesty, he said, made no doubt of his Grace's 'keeping Possession of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, and directed him upon 'this Occasion to repeat Her Commands to his Grace, that he 'should suffer no Troops but Her own, to be admitted into either 'of those Places, until further Order. The Queen had receiv'd 'so much ill Usage, with Respect to the Commerce of Her Sub- 'jects in the *Netherlands*, and had so much Reason to expect more 'of the same Kind, that She was resolv'd to treat upon that Head, 'with those Pawns in Her Hand. He understood the Queen's
'Pleasure

‘Pleasure to be, that his Grace should make the Repartition of
 ‘Winter Quarters in the Manner he propos’d ; that the Officers
 ‘should not be any longer oblig’d to keep their Field-Equipages,
 ‘and that the Contract for the Provision of Winter-Forage should
 ‘be made, as soon as possible.

In a second Letter of the same Date, he acquaints the Duke,
 ‘That the positive Order, contain’d in his first, was not sent to
 ‘prevent the Admission of other Troops, besides Her Majesty’s,
 ‘into *Ghent* and *Bruges* : The Queen was enough satisfy’d, that
 ‘his Grace would take effectual Care to preserve those cautionary
 ‘Places, which could alone secure to Her any tolerable Conditions,
 ‘with respect to the *Netherlands*, in the Terms of Peace : But he
 ‘confess’d, he thought it could be no ways unnecessary to give
 ‘his Grace a very positive and clear Order, in an Affair, which
 ‘might perhaps make a great deal of Noise. The Queen likewise
 ‘commanded him, to let his Grace know, that, tho’ the Body of
 ‘Troops at present with him, and the Employment of them should
 ‘not naturally require one of his Rank, yet, She judg’d it for
 ‘Her Service, in the present Conjuncture of Affairs, that he con-
 ‘tinu’d some Time longer, where he now was. When the Cam-
 ‘paign clos’d, and the Conferences open’d at *Utrecht*, as to the
 ‘Disposition of the *Spanish Netherlands*, his Name and Figure in
 ‘*Ghent* would be necessary. Her Majesty thought the Place the
 ‘Duke was in, not very agreeable to him ; but after so many
 ‘Proofs of his Grace’s preferring Her Service to every other Con-
 ‘sideration, She made no Doubt of his remaining with Pleasure in
 ‘the same Situation, till he receiv’d Orders to come over ; before
 ‘which Time, it would be proper to think of the Person, that
 ‘was to command, during his Grace’s Absence.’

A few Days after, came another Letter of *Septemb. 17.* from
 the Secretary, signifying, ‘That the Queen approv’d very well
 ‘of the Answer, which his Grace gave to Monsieur *Villars*, con-
 ‘cerning the Intelligence the Marechal had sent ; and, tho’ She
 ‘did with great Reason despise such impertinent Discourse, yet She
 ‘thought it right, that those who talk’d at that Rate, should be
 ‘made sensible, that Her Majesty was not ignorant of it ; and
 ‘believ’d, my Lord *Strafford* would take an Opportunity of drop-
 ‘ping something of that Kind : That the Earl of *Orrery* was pre-
 ‘paring to go for *Brussels*, who, no Doubt, would find great Fa-
 ‘cility in the Matters of Commerce (which Her Majesty would
 ‘commit to his Care) from the Pledges, which his Grace, by his
 ‘prudent Conduct, had got into his Hands.’

The Duke had been inform’d, by a Person very well inclin’d
 to the Queen’s Service, of a Design, which the *Dutch*, from the
 Success of their Enterprize upon *Knaecut*, had been encourag’d to
 form

form for surprizing *Newport* or *Furnes*; and that the fortifying *Dixmuyde* was made Use of, as a Pretence, for drawing together a Body of Troops, sufficient to put the Design in Execution. The Duke knew not, but Her Majesty might think it for Her Service, that the Design should not succeed, since, if the *Dutch* were not suffer'd to take Possession of those Garrisons, the Queen would not only have a greater Influence towards settling the Commerce of the *Netherlands* on a good Foot, but would be able to secure, what was of the highest Consequence at that Time, a free Communication between her Troops, which were in *Ghent*, *Bruges*, and *Dunkirk*. He therefore, *October* the 21st, acquainted the Secretary with this Affair, and left it to his Lordship, to judge of the Importance of it, and the Use that was to be made of it: But, if the Queen thought it most for Her Service to prevent it, he was humbly of Opinion, some Means should be found out to give Advice of it to the *Mareschal de Villars*; who might possibly think, we ow'd him that good Office, in requital of some Informations, his Lordship knew, had been sent by the *Mareschal*, with a Design to serve Her Majesty, and the Nation.

The Duke, during his Stay in *Ghent*, made many Regulations in regard to the Army: Among others that concerning the Bread, was not of the least Importance. The Contract of Bread the last Year having been made at Five *Stivers* five Eighths *per* Loaf, and this Year brought down to Four *Stivers* three Eighths; His Grace thought it a Piece of Justice due to the poor Soldiers, to order the Surplus of what was deducted from them, upon that Account, to be return'd to them. The weekly Deduction made from the Men is Ten *Stivers* for each Man: so that in a Month, Forty *Stivers* being deducted, and the Bread amounting to but Thirty *Stivers* Five Eighths, there would remain due to every Soldier, Nine *Stivers* three Eighths. If the Computation be made for the *English* Forces only, which serv'd in *Flanders*, and Two and Twenty Battalions reckon'd at Five hundred and fifty Men each, and eight Squadrons of Dragoons at One hundred and fifty Men each, the whole Sum to be return'd to the Men, in a Month's Time, would be Six thousand two hundred thirty one *Guilders*, five *Stivers*.

The Campaign being ended, and both the *French* and Confederate Armies going now into Winter-Quarters, the Duke thought, that his Stay in this Country was no longer necessary for Her Majesty's Service, and therefore made it his Request to the Queen, that he might have leave to return to *England*. Accordingly, soon after, *Octob.* 21. O. S. my Lord *Bolingbroke* sent him Word, that the Queen allow'd of his coming Home, as soon as he should think fit: The Armies being separated, Her Majesty suppos'd, there could

could be no Danger of any Surprize, either at *Ghent* or *Bruges* : But as it was impossible to be too cautious in Times of such Disorder, his Grace would please to recommend in the strictest Manner, to the Officer, who was left in the Command, that he should be extremely vigilant, and constantly on his Guard. My Lord adds, that Her Majesty was much of the Duke's Opinion, concerning the Use to be made of the Intelligence, mention'd in his Grace's Letter of *Octob. 21.* and that he had receiv'd the same Account, by another Hand.

Soon after the Receipt of this Letter, the Duke set forward for *England*, and landed there *November 1.*

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